Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Artillery Agreement 'Vivid Example' of Progress

LD1910201589 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Vienna October 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The first brick has been laid into an intricate structure of a treaty on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, now being negotiated by Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

The first text to become part of the agreement defines artillery. It was recorded at the final plenary meeting of the third round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe which concluded in Vienna today.

The document stipulates that all artillery systems of NATO and Warsaw Treaty of over 100 mm, capable of hitting ground targets, mostly from covered firing positions, are to be reduced.

This applies to canons, howitzers, mortars, and jet systems of volley fire. The list of such systems on each side includes over 40 artillery systems. The definition was finalized after a compromise decision to put anti-tank artillery systems aside.

At the end of the third round the Warsaw Treaty countries put two new working documents on the negotiating table. This will undoubtedly step up the pace of the negotiations.

On behalf of the Warsaw Treaty countries, head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy submitted proposals on a set of measures for information exchange and verification, as well as measures for stabilisation.

The Warsaw Treaty countries are in favor of creating a simple, reliable and economical system for the verification of the reduction of conventional armaments.

The system envisages control of intitial data at the time of agreement and specified data by the time it goes into effect. It would verify agreed upon limits and sublimits, as well as the process of arms reduction and elimination, facilities for temporary storage of arms to be eliminated and disbandment of military units.

It is proposed that on-site inspections should be the primary instrument for the verification of observance of the treaty's provisions. National technical means will also be used.

Political observers noted that many items in the Warsaw Treaty countries' document correspond to proposals made by NATO late in September. A prompt and effective coordination of the sides' positions is possible.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' document on stabilisation measures aims to avert the danger of a surprise attack, and to increase the openness and predictability in Europe.

A system of measures would set limits to military exercises in Europe, to the summoning of reservists, and to the concentration and movement of troops and armaments.

The conventional armed forces would be restructured and their offensive potentials lowered.

In an interview with TASS Grinevskiy said that considerable progress is being made. During the previous two rounds it was decided that cuts will be made in tanks, artillery, infantry combat vehicles, tactical aviation planes, combat helicopters, and personnel.

As a next step, the sides agreed to establish equal armament levels for the alliances. Later they concentrated on the exchange of information and on verification. Solving this problem will ensure confidence that the agreement is strictly observed by all.

"The arrangement on artillery is a vivid example of constructive work at the talks," Grinevskiy told a news conference today. "But more progress could have been achieved: There were also opportunities for progress in terms of tanks, armoured vehicles and helicopters.

"But these opportunities have not been used. Western partners have not been prepared for this," he said.

"One example concerns tanks, the reduction of which was the linchpin of the Western partners political position at the talks", Grinevskiy said.

"When the question of tanks cropped up, the partners were at a loss. They could not decide among themselves what they wish to reduce and to what amounts.

"The conclusion suggests itself that political guidelines of NATO and Warsaw Treaty leaders for the drafting of an initial arrangement at the forum in 1990 should be transformed into specific positions of delegations of all countries without exception. The goal set cannot be achieved without this," Grinevskiy said.

TASS Reports Semipalatinsk Underground Explosion

LD1910164289 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Soviet Union detonated an underground nuclear explosion with a yield from 20 and [as received] 75 kilotons at its Semipalatinsk test site at 12:50 today.

The test was conducted with a view to upgrading military equipment.

The radiation situation inside and outside the test area is normal.

TASS Reports Gerasimov News Briefing 19 Oct

New SED Program

LD1910133689 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Soviet Union wishes Egon Krenz, the new general secretary of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany/SED—FBIS] Central Committee, success in his new post and counts on the continuation and development of traditional relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation with the German Democratic Republic, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing here today.

He stressed that Erich Honecker had presided over a period of successful development of USSR-GDR cooperation. The Soviet spokesman noted that the SUPG, the leading political force of the GDR, was facing the need to draft an action programme to accommodate the current conditions.

Aeroflot-El Al Talks

LD1910134189 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Talks were held on Tuesday and Wednesday in Moscow between representatives of the El Al and Aeroflot air companies, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The sides discussed the possibility of organising air transportation between the two countries in line with the demand.

As a result of the exchange of views, an agreement was reached to continue talks.

FRG President's Morocco Speech

LD1910140189 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Soviet Union took note of the speech by Richard von Weizsaecker, the FRG federal president, at a dinner for King Hassan II of Morocco, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing here today.

In particular, the FRG president said that "important reform efforts in the Soviet Union and East European states" open up new vistas for East-West cooperation.

"We want the two German states to become a factor of peace in Europe and contribute to realising the vast possibilities which open before the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe as they come closer to each other," Gerasimov quoted him as saying.

The Soviet Union regards this statement as evidence of the correct understanding by the president of the not-so-easy situation in Europe on the whole and the important role, which the two German states are called up to decide in the process of stabilising East- West relations.

"Pronouncements by the FRG president mark a useful follow-up on the ideas contained in the joint statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl on the need to jointly seek possibilities of establishing peace and cooperation in Europe," the Soviet spokesman concluded.

Security Council Elections

LD1910195789 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The election of Cuba to the United Nations Security Council for a two-year term as a representative from the group of Latin American countries testifies to its growing international authority, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Gerasimov stressed that Cuba has won respect from many members of the international community with its support of progressive tendencies in international relations and active participation in the Nonaligned Movement.

"We are sure that in this post, Cuba will consistently follow a course towards strengthening the United Nations' role in world politics and actively participate in the Security Council's activities," he said.

Gerasimov expressed his assurance that Romania, also elected a non-permanent member, "will play an active role in world politics as well".

Gorbachev Cables 'Developing Countries' Meeting

LD2010102789 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message of greetings to the international meeting "Developing Countries in Modern World", which opened here today.

The document notes that the policy, which is based on new thinking and advocates free choice, as well as unconditional respect for national identity and mutually advantageous cooperation, is in the interests of all nations.

The Soviet Union attaches paramount significance to strengthening positions of developing countries, is interested in enhancing their role in world politics, from disarmament to human rights.

'Progressive Role' of Press Noted at Conference

Roundtable Ends

LD1710202589 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Journalists started tearing down the barriers splitting the world earlier than politicians and diplomats started doing the same. This progressive role of the press was commended at the roundtable meeting held here today. Its topic was "East and West: How we see Each Other. [no closing quote mark as received]

The conference was organised by the Soviet Novosti Press Agency and the London-based International Press Institute. People prominent in news organisations, representatives of bodies of the press, radio and television from various countries and their Soviet colleagues gathered in the hall.

Opening the conference, Enrique Ziler of Peru, chairman of the International Press Institute, noted that the importance of news from the Soviet Union is enhanced by revolutionary transformations taking place in the Soviet Union. Foreign participants in the roundtable conference spoke about the need of correct understanding of Soviet perestroyka as a whole or some or other manifestations of perestroyka. Aleksandr Grachev, deputy chief of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the essence of glasnost which is among the most vivid elements of perestroyka. He said that glasnost means not only a democratic rostrum for the discussion of acute and complex social problems, but also a collective quest for their solution.

This is not only a means of destroying a monopoly on truth, but also a way of drawing broad sections of the population into social creativity.

It was interesting to learn about the impressions of foreign journalists. Thus, British journalist Martin Walker who represented the newspaper GUARDIAN in Moscow for several years is of the opinion that publicist works written in the USSR about political and economic aspects of perestroyka are yet in the stage of quest and have not assumed a precise line. He expressed the opinion that in describing events of perestroyka to Western readers it is necessary to avoid sensationalism and present these events in a calm and balanced way.

Representative of Austrian Radio Paul Lendvai set out his viewpoint on transformations in the activity of the press in socialist countries. He believes there is a need for greater openness not only between the East and the West but also in relations among Eastern countries.

Vladimir Milyutenko, deputy chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY said it is for journalists to break the vicious circle when the enemy image was the pretext for more armaments and new armaments generated the enemy image.

More on Conference

LD1910090989 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The concluding session of the two-day "East-West: how we see each other" meeting, held in Moscow on October 19, was a lively dialogue. The meeting was held by the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY and the International Press Institute (London).

Noting the accomplishments in that area, representatives of both sides did not try to idealise the state of affairs. That was shown by the discussion of the state-mass media relations.

Christina Jutterstrom, editor-in-chief of the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER, said that one was witnessing attempts of leaders of political parties, senior officials of ministries and local government bodies, different companies to control the press and to put barriers to information in her country where the first law on the freedom of the press was passed over 200 years ago.

K. Irani from the Indian Newspaper STATESMAN cited facts, both involving his country and also Britain and the United States, to show how influential forces can influence the course of a journalist investigation.

Foreign participants in the round-table meeting asked many questions to know better the conditions in which the Soviet mass media work. Answering questions, L.A. Voznesensky, head of the USSR Council of Ministers' Information Department, said that the Soviet press, including television and radio, had become a new power in Soviet society, which strengthened in the course of perestroyka. The Soviet mass media has such an extent of independence, such a strength of influence the society that any managerial agency cannot but heed it.

The Soviet press actively started destructing old dogmas, nations and beliefs, he said and expressed the opinion that it had not so far acquired such an active creative role in consolidating society on really humanistic, democratic and socialist principles.

A. Michnik from the Polish Newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA, Peter Galliner, International Press Institute director and other speakers expressed their views. Though interlocutors not always accepted each other's arguments, the meeting was marked with a constructive spirit of cooperation and the desire to improve mutual understanding.

NATO's Woerner Comments on East-West Ties

PM1610100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A Doubtful Source of Stability"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Oct—On Wednesday in the White House U.S. President George Bush met with

NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, who arrived in the United States for a one-day conference on the subject "NATO: Partnership and Prospects." U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle also participated in the meeting.

Judging by a statement by the President's press secretary, attention centered on the question of mutual relations between NATO and Warsaw Pact members and the reaction of NATO to the radical changes taking place in international politics under the influence of the profound transformations in the USSR's internal and foreign policies. During the meeting Bush reaffirmed the United States' adherence to the NATO leaders' Brussels declaration, which "charted a new policy for NATO in a period of change in East-West relations." Both leaders also expressed the hope that NATO and the Warsaw Pact will reach agreements on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe within a year.

Woerner himself, during a short meeting with journalists after his conversation with the President, admitted that the transformations in East European countries represent a challenge to NATO's traditional military role. As is well known, NATO has still not given a specific answer to the Warsaw Pact's proposal on the simultaneous dissolution of the two military blocs on the grounds that they have served their purpose. Woerner, who noted that NATO "must consider itself to be an instrument of political control [upravleniye] of change in East-West relations," gave no answer to this in his statements, eitHer. Woerner stressed that the bloc must remain "the main source of stability in the transitional period" and that it is only through the existence of NATO that strengthened stability in the world can be achieved. He also stated that NATO advocates "peaceful evolution" in East Europe and supports "the forces of reform" in the USSR, Poland, and Hungary, without intending to interfere in the situation in these countries.

United States & Canada

Nikitin Meeting With Bush Aide Evans Reported

PM1910153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange Of Opinions"]

[Text] On 18 October V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received C. Evans, special assistant to the U.S. President.

During the meeting there was an exchange of opinions on some questions of trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. Business links and economic collaboration between countries, firms, and organizations have been prey to political disagreements for too long. Perestroyka and the new thinking are making this a thing of the past. There are many businessmen in the United States at the moment who want to cooperate with the USSR, C. Evans noted.

During the conversation special attention was paid to various aspects of bilateral ties in the sphere of agriculture and the processing sectors and also on the establishment of joint ventures.

White House Backs Webster, CIA on Foreign Coups

PM1910134189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "United States: Support for the CIA"]

[Text] The White House has in effect supported CIA Director William Webster, who urged the President and the U.S. Congress in an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES to give his department a "free rein" in inciting and carrying out coups d'etat abroad.

At a press briefing on Tuesday White House press secretary M. Fitzwater said that "we undoubtedly agree with everything that Webster said."

The G. Bush administration is now trying to achieve mutual understanding with the Congress with a view "to relaxing the restrictions" on the question of backing coups d'etat abroad, Fitzwater noted. The planned changes, he claimed, do not mean repudiation of the presidential executive decree which prohibits the killing of foreign leaders for political motives. However, they will enable the United States to "enter into contact with the organizers of a conspiracy" that may result in the death of the country's leader. We would not like to talk about the details in public, the press secretary said.

The White House spokesman gave the following answer to a correspondent's question as to whether everything he had said meant that the United States will not agree to the political killing of a country's leader but may find itself involved in a coup resulting in the death of a state's leader: "Yes, that is correct."

U.S. Firm Organizing Video Conference Link

LD1910104589 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Sergey Morozov:

People from the Soviet Union and the United States will soon be able to hold transatlantic conferences as if they are sitting together at one table.

Guriy Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and William McGowan, MCI chairman and chief executive officer, signed an agreement to establish a communications link-up in Moscow on Wednesday.

They agreed to set up a joint venture that will build a TV conference centre in the Soviet capital.

MCI will deliver some of the equipment, but most work in organising the communications system on Soviet territory will be carried out by the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Communications.

The first hook up will be held next year, the Americans predict.

The participants will sit down at a table, which will be a foundation of a pyramid. Through the pyramid they will be seeing and hearing their colleagues on the other side of the globe and will have the feeling that they are sitting behind the same table.

Speakers will appear life-size, and they will look even better than normal, experts say.

In the background, each group will have screens to show diagrams or slides. The number of participants will be limited to the size of the table. Onlookers will be able to watch from behind a glass screen.

A come-together session for 3-5 individuls through this system will be cheaper than arranging their direct contact, according to McGowan.

MCI has 10 videoconference centres in the United States and they pay their way, he said.

The company will open another 2 centres in Washington and New York for link-ups with the Soviet Union.

Information exchanges are very important for mutual understanding, McGowan told TASS.

He said the new system could help thousands of businessmen who live and work in the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Historian Backs Japan's Claim to Kurils in Tokyo

PM1910183489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 7

[Igor Latyshev article under the rubric "Our Correspondent Comments": "Irresponsibility"]

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Oct—Bellicose Japanese nationalists who make unfounded territorial claims against the Soviet Union have unexpectedly found an open and highly active ally among our compatriots. He is USSR People's Deputy Yu. Afanasyev, rector of the Historical Archives Institute and doctor of historical sciences.

On his arrival in Japan 2 days ago to take part in a symposium on the problems of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, Yu. Afanasyev was not slow to attract the attention of the Japanese press and elicit a chorus of praise from all the nationalist circles that have for many years been trying in vain to bring about the unlawful expulsion of Soviet people from the Kuril Islands.

The reason for this praise and rapture was Yu. Afanasyev's "sensational" speech at the symposium, in which he informed those present that "perestroyka as a historical reality is the end of the last empire, namely the Soviet Union" (?!), and on this basis declared that it is necessary to do away with the system of international relations that grew up in the postwar years on the basis of the Yalta agreements. But the Japanese champions of territorial claims against our country were gratified most of all by Yu. Afanasyev's statement that the obstacle to the development of Japanese-Soviet relations is the "unconstructive approach" of the USSR Government, which is unwilling to meet Japanese territorial claims halfway. And to make it clear to everyone present what he meant by this, he came out unequivocally and categorically in favor of "the return of four of the Kuril Islands to Japan."

So that is how our compatriot, with one blow, straight from the shoulder, cuts the Gordian knot of the unlawful Japanese claims against our country, by generously "handing over" to Japanese politicians all four islands of the Kuril chain that are usually mentioned in Japanese Government notes. He hands them over without asking the consent of the many thousands of inhabitants of Yuzhno-Kurilsk and the other Soviet cities and settlements located on those islands—the majority of whom were born and raised there, and who therefore regard the aforementioned islands as their native land, their home. He hands them over without, by all appearances, knowing either the history of the initial discovery of these islands by Russian pioneers back in the mid-eighteenth century, or the circumstances of the malicious exploitation of the Kurils by Japanese militarists for the purposes of aggression, or the fact that the Japanese territorial claims against our country are not an end in themselves, but only a pretext for maintaining Japanese-Soviet relations in a "frozen" condition, or the fact, patently obvious to specialists, that there is no limit to such claims, since alongside the demands for the four islands, a number of Japanese political organizations put forward a demand for all of the Kuril Islands, while those that are on the right wing also demand at least the southern part of Sakhalin.

Yu. Afanasyev's statement is published today by all the central Japanese newspapers. Expressing their gratitude to him, the editors flatteringly call him the "standard bearer of Soviet radical reforms." The commentators stress meaningfully that they are seeing in Japan the first Soviet person who, despite his official position, has come out publicly both with criticism of Soviet foreign policy and with approval of the Japanese territorial claims against the Soviet Union. Well, there is reason to rejoice in such bizarre behavior by a Soviet guest.

True, the newspapers do not mention the fact that the other Soviet scientists present at the symposium included specialists who are familiar with this question and who made it clear to the Japanese participants in the symposium that Yu. Afanasyev's remarks in no way reflect the views of Soviet people, the vast majority of whom, as recent mass public opinion polls show, reject the unlawful Japanese territorial claims out of hand. Therefore the "standardbearer of Soviet radical reforms" was not, alas, able to give the Japanese audience the impression that his statements on this issue expressed the feelings of any significant proportion of the Soviet public. Furthermore he has presumably given a fairly clear impression of himself to Soviet people, especially the inhabitants of the Kuril Islands, whom Yu. Afanasyev so easily sacrifices to the nationalist ambitions of Japanese politicians.

Admiral Sorokin Ends Visit to DPRK

PM1910135189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 18 Oct—The official friendly visit to the DPRK by Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has ended.

The Soviet guest was familiarized with the experience of political work in the Korean People's Army and visited troop units and Panmunjom, which is situated on the demarcation line between the DPRK and South Korea.

A friendship rally was held at the Korean People's Army Military Academy, where Korean and Soviet troops' determination to strengthen their traditional friendship and cooperation in the interests of peace and socialism was stressed.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Australian Minister on Joint Venture Prospects

PM1710130389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Interest in Partnership"]

[Text] Canberra, 16 Oct—Australian-Soviet economic cooperation, particularly in developing the Soviet Far East, has a great future, John Kerin, Australian minister for primary industries and energy, has stated. He recently toured the USSR, particularly the eastern part of the country. We are particularly interested in the development of joint ventures in the Far East, the minister said in conversation. Third countries could participate in such projects, too. Australian businessmen are already negotiating to build a modern high-technology forestry combine. We are also ready to cooperate in the sphere of developing stockraising, and fruit and vegetable processing.

The Far East is rich in various resources, the minister continued. Australia is interested in the prospects for developing the region. We are looking forward with hope to the Australian trade exhibition and fair due to be held in Vladivostok next July. It will allow the Australian Government and the country's business representatives to determine the spheres of our participation in the opening up of the Soviet Far East.

CPSU Delegation at New Zealand Party Forum

PM1210134689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Labor Party's Invitation"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation consisting of N.V. Bikkenin, chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST, and V.P. Kudinov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, was in New Zealand 29 September through 7 October at the invitation of that country's Labor Party, to take part in the annual national conference of the New Zealand Labor Party.

The delegation also had meetings and talks at organizations of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party.

Commentary on Hijacking by Burmese Students

BK1110035589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov: "Act of Terrorism Cannot Be Related to Politics"]

[Text] Two 22-year-old Myanmar [Burmese] students hijacked a Myanmar Airways passenger plane to Thailand and carried out an act of terrorism recently. Armed with hand grenades, they forced the crew to change their flight path and land the plane abroad. We can imagine the extent of anxiety experienced by the passengers aboard the plane.

Use of weapons is always very dangerous, even more so aboard a plane. However, we should all be happy that the incident ended without anyone being killed. Had the situation deteriorated, the possibility [of people being killed] was there.

What did the two student hijackers who had undertaken this risk achieve? They demanded that the military government in Myanmar release all political prisoners. It is doubtful whether the two students indeed believed that their demand would be granted. They appeared to have carried out the act to attract attention to the cause of students who are still waging a struggle through various means against the current Myanmar Government.

It was quite clear from the beginning that their demand could not be met. Among the so-called political prisoners were those who had breached the Penal Code for carrying out acts of terror. At the same time, it should be remembered that a lot of prisoners had been released over a period of 1 year. That is why it is difficult to say that the method chosen by the two students would accelerate the pace of resolving the situation in Myanmar. It is necessary to take a serious approach to solve the problems that have accumulated over decades. It is apparent that various strata in Myanmar society (?are striving) to install democracy in the country. The general elections to be held during May of next year will mark a crucial stage toward these efforts.

Presently, many parties in Myanmar are busy drawing up programs for the elections and seeking allies in their political struggle. It can also be seen that some registered parties have dissolved themselves. Two youth organizations recently announced their dissolution. Those who have come up on the political stage have started the process of assessing their prospects. What is important is that the registered parties are carrying out their organizational activities before the elections through peaceful and lawful means. Other means could push the political situation in Burma into a corner and exacerbate the situation, which is already complicated.

It has been learned that the students who hijacked the plane to Thailand would be tried in court. Thailand, like many countries, is a signatory to international agreements on air piracy, and has decided to take action according to these agreements. It is therefore necessary to put them on trial for hijacking the Myanmar airliner.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Ambassador Says Military Self-Sufficient

LD1910160989 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan can protect the country's

sovereignty and territorial integrity, Afghan Ambassador Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, a member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, told a news conference here today.

He said the Afghan Army has high combat potential and is capable of using any up-to-date armaments. Therefore the Republic of Afghanistan does not need others to train them to operate these arms.

The ambassador said that Kabul is prepared to permit U.S. specialists to visit Scud missiles launching pads. There they could witness the technical and combat training of Afghan servicemen. They would realise the groundlessness of their allegations that there are Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan.

As always the rebels reject all peace initiatives from the Afghan Government and continue the fratricidal war, Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy said. The Afghan people realise that peace and security cannot be expected from the opposition.

The ambassador also said that there is no visible change in the U.S. and Pakistan attitudes. Washington and Islamabad are waiting in vain for changes in the military situation in favour of the opposition. They continuously postpone the predicted date of the opposition's victory. Currently it is said to be the end of November 1989.

The United States, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and a number of other countries continue to supply increasing numbers of arms to the opposition.

In the past two weeks, Pakistan made 234 violations of the Geneva accords. They drove convoys with arms and ammunition to the Afghan territory, sent military advisers, and delivered explosives.

Over this period the opposition fired 98 "ground-to-ground" missiles at densely populated areas of Kabul, killing 100 people and wounding more than 200. Nine residential buildings, five stores and two office buildings were destroyed.

Increase in Military Aid to Afghanistan Denied

PM1910122989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "It Is Up to the Other Side"]

[Text] Of late virtually no article in U.S. and Pakistani information sources devoted to events in Afghanistan has failed to level charges at the Soviet Union. They claim that there are Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan and that Soviet military aid is increasing in that country.

Denouncing these slanderous claims, the Afghan Foreign Ministry stressed in a special statement that there is irrefutable proof attesting that the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have fulfilled their commitments under the Geneva agreements honestly and in full. The Afghan Army currently has top combat training standards and can employ any modern weapon. Thus Kabul has no need to use Soviet servicemen for instruction in the use of the aforementioned weapons, including "Scud" missiles. The Republic of Afghanistan is prepared to create conditions for U.S. experts to visit "Scud" missile launchpads so that they can see Afghan Army servicemen's technical and combat skills, and the groundless nature of their scandalous claims, for themselves on the spot.

Well, as for Soviet military aid to Afghanistan, the Foreign Ministry statement stresses, it is being provided, and the amount is sufficient to guarantee the defense of the republic's sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity. Afghanistan has an inalienable right to supply its Army with state-of-the-art weapons in the event of an increase or expansion of foreign aggression.

I can say most definitely that the ballyhoo kicked up by the United States and Pakistan about an alleged drastic increase in Soviet military aid to the Republic of Afghanistan aims to justify increasing arms shipments to the extremists and to create conditions for the continuation of the bloody conflict in Afghanistan. P. Tomsen, the U.S. president's special representative to the Afghan armed opposition, confirmed that this is Washington's intention when he said in an inflammatory manner that the United States will provide the mujahidin with military aid for as long as they intend to fight. Pakistan is indispensable here, since the main routes for supplying the extremists with weapons and military equipment cross its territory.

It must also be pointed out that Islamabad's stance on the Afghan problem is provoking increasing anger and indignation in Afghanistan. Thus, according to Pakistani journalist A. Rashid, who visited Kabul and toured a number of Afghan regions, you can hear curses directed at Pakistan with increasing frequency in the country. "Most Afghans," he writes in his report, "are firmly convinced that the Islamabad administration, which harbors the mujahidin and gives them the weapons supplied by the Americans, is primarily to blame for the continuing bloodshed in their country."

The continuation of hostilities in Afghanistan does not accord with the interests of any of the sides directly involved in the conflict and cannot solve the Afghan problem. The only way out of the current situation is a political settlement. President Najibullah has stressed that the Afghan Government is prepared to hold talks with the opposition on the country's territory without preliminary conditions. It is up to the other side.

Tehran Seminar on Afghanistan Criticized

NC1910175489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] An international seminar on the Afghanistan problem has been held in Tehran. Several Iranian leaders, representatives of the Afghan opposition eight-party and seven-party alliances, and religious dignitaries from foreign countries participated.

The Iranian press reported that the seminar was held to show Tehran's desire to promote negotations among the Afghans and to preserve Afghanistan's Islamic nature.

I think that the fear expressed by the participants in the Tehran seminar about the loss of Afghanistan's Islamic nature was exaggerated. Everyone knows that almost the entire Afghan population is Muslim and that any government in that country can exist only if it respects Islamic traditions. [passage omitted]

The commotion among the Afghan opposition and their allegations about the threat to Islam are fabricated and intended to disguise profit-seeking political calculations.

As for talks among the Afghans, such talks are necessary to end the bloodshed and achieve a political solution to the Afghanistan problem. However, if the organizers of the Tehran seminar truly support such talks, then they should also have invited representatives of the Najibullah government. Without their participation, true negotiations among the Afghans cannot take place because recent events, especially since the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, clearly demonstrate the strength of the current Afghan regime, the combat capability of its armed forces, and the people's support for the regime. Ignoring this reality and portraying the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as lacking any influence in the country's political life is not only illogical but criminal.

However, those who want to impose their special system of government on the Afghans refuse to recognize this reality. They are knowingly ignoring the realism and goodwill of the Afghanistan Government, hoping to fulfill their adventuristic plans.

Apparently some Iranian politicians regard the Afghan opposition as pawns. This is why they call on the opposition groups to continue their armed struggle until complete victory and they speak about the consolidation of unity among the opposition under the banner of Islam.

After all, the clashes among the mujahidin reveal a genuine pluralism of interests and views in Afghan society. These interests are served through brigandry during war, but there is another way: the path of peaceful political talks. This path will lead to national agreement.

The Iranian politicians' calculation that the opposition can overthrow Najibullah's government is a fantasy. The defeat of the extremists in Jalalabad, Qandahar, and Khowst in no way resulted from an absence of unity. Instead, it was these defeats that decisively exacerbated the conflicts among the opposition.

Talks among the Afghans on a truly democratic basis are the only way to achieve a just solution to the Afghanistan problem. It is not only the Afghans who need peace and national agreement. Peace and national agreement will bring stability to the entire region and serve the interests of Afghanistan's neighbors, including Iran.

Mojahedin-e Khalq Cited on Amnesty Call in Iran

NC1910155089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] IRNA reports that a general amnesty has been declared in Iran. The decree announcing the amnesty states that all prisoners will be released [as heard], except those arrested on serious charges such as bribery, plundering, and drug trafficking or for links with banned political groups. These groups of prisoners will have to serve their entire sentence.

The general amnesty was declared on the birthday of the holy Prophet.

Commenting on the general amnesty decree, the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization stated that this decree is a maneuver aimed at hiding the widespread torture and massacre of supporters of banned organizations.

Commentator Urges Iran-Iraq POW Exchange

NC1910173289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Oct 89

[(Sergey Sarkisov) commentary]

[Text] Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar announcing Baghdad's readiness to exchange prisoners of war with Tehran. Iraq regards the exchange of prisoners of war as a strictly humanitarian act outside the framework of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598, the political formula for the solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

For his part, Kamal Kharrazi, Iran's permanent representative to the United Nations, also sent a letter to Perez de Cuellar emphasizing Tehran's readiness to exchange prisoners of war with Baghdad during the next 90 days. However, the Iranian side said this depended on Iraq's agreeing to the full implementation of Resolution 598.

The exchange of prisoners of war is called for in the Security Council resolution, and so it seems logical that carrying out this humanitarian act should bring Iran and Iraq closer to a final peace treaty. Therefore, I believe Iran is justified in its insistence on the link between the exchange of prisoners of war and the process of talks for a political solution to the two countries' conflict. However, it is hard to see how using the issue of prisoners of war as a political trump card in the talks accords with compassion and morality.

For a soldier, the only fate worse than captivity is death. Life away from home, away from relatives, and away from people who speak one's native language is in itself a difficult test. Furthermore, there are cases where prisoners of war have been physically and mentally tortured. It is not strange that in their letters to the UN secretary general, the Iranian and Iraqi representatives stressed the hardships suffered by the prisoners of war. However, pity and compassion should not be limited to an expression of sympathy. Practical steps should also be taken to relieve their problems. The immediate implementation of such a humanitarian step will not only not weaken the political positions of the participants in the peace talks, but will actually strengthen their positions. A policy based on moral principles is among the most practical of policies. Such a policy creates trust and it is on trust that successful talks are based.

Thus, the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 598 must remain in force. Humanitarian feelings and compassion are also necessary in solving this problem.

So much blood has been shed and so much has been suffered by the Iranian and Iraqi nations during the 8 years of war. These nations have gained peace and security after great suffering. Any effort to obstruct the achievement of a lasting peace, whatever the reason, is unjustified, inhumane, and immoral.

It appears that a return to prewar borders is the real obstacle to the success of the talks. However, did the prewar borders prevent the two countries from using the Shatt al-'Arab, or the Arvand River, for navigation? Did the prewar borders obstruct Iraq's access to the sea? Of course not. What led to the closure of the river was the exacerbation of the conflict between the two sides, which led to the war. Only through goodwill and a sincere desire for peace will Iran and Iraq ever be able to use the river, which is now not being used at all. However, mutual hostilities must first be ended and compassion must be shown in the solution of the problem of the prisoners of war.

Israelis Note Soviet 'Coolness' on Peres Visit

TA1910131489 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 19 Oct 89 p 7

[Report by Moscow correspondent Amnon Kapeliuk]

[Text] Dr Nimrod Novik, political adviser to Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, met for approximately 2 and ½ hours yesterday with Gennadiy Tarasov, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's representative for Middle Eastern affairs.

Novik pointed out the differences in attitude between the Soviet Peace Committee, which invited Peres to Moscow and is going out of its way to turn the visit into a lever for the renewal of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which has reacted with coolness to the visit.

During his 2-day trip Novik also briefed the Soviets in detail on all the cooperation agreements Israel is proposing. Novik explained the cooperation projects in a meeting with Valeriy Pekshev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank. The suggested projects are in the fields of agriculture, health, energy, science and technology, education, aviation, naval agreements, and tourism.

There are many suggested projects for cooperation in every field. At the end of his 2d day in Moscow, Novik said that the Soviets had shown great interest in the Israeli proposals, and had told him that there are no obstacles to their implementation.

East Europe

PRAVDA Cites Krenz Report to SED Plenum

PM1910200689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "E. Krenz' Report"]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Oct—A party like ours has no interests but the people's interests. When it is a question of the people's fate, decisive significance is attached to strength of conviction and staunchness, courage with regard to the truth. We reaffirm our commitment to those qualities. We turn our face to the people. So said E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, delivering a report at the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum, which has taken place here.

The truth we stand for, he went on, also includes the fact that we unswervingly follow the law of history, which is that socialism is the only humanist alternative to capitalism. Our historical optimism stems from our awareness of the inevitability of the victory of socialism, demonstrated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Our confidence is based on the indisputable social progress achieved in a short historical period by our people and the peoples of the fraternal countries, despite all that still has to be done.

In the past months, the speaker noted, we have not evaluated social development in our country sufficiently realistically, and we have not drawn the right conclusions in good time. Today's plenum marks the start of a change, and first and foremost a new political and ideological offensive. The key source of our strength lies in the collectivity of our party's leadership at every level.

Our Marxist-Leninist party is a mighty combat alliance. It has always been at the head of the socialist revolution in our country, and has carried out all the transformations in society. The same will be true this time. The collective strength of our party is based on the political experience and knowledge of more than 2.3 million communists. They unswervingly stand up for the ideals and values of socialism.

Without the SED there would be no GDR, E. Krenz stressed. To cite this indisputable fact is by no means to belittle the contribution of allied and friendly social forces in the formation and growth of socialism in the GDR. Our republic is and will remain in future the fruit of the joint labor of all classes and strata, under our party's leadership. The parties and mass organizations that are allied with us have made an invaluable contribution to building the GDR. We also count on this in building our country's future.

As the party of the working class, we appeal to our country's working men and women to embark on the resolution of the tasks of further strengthening socialism. We call on everyone to work together, plan together, and manage together.

The GDR's 5th decade has begun. Our strategic orientation toward the unity of economic and social policy remains in force. Our program is the further building of socialism, its constant renewal. Stagnation cannot be tolerated. Socialism is not a completed society, but a revolutionary society.

Every one of us has felt in recent months that we are experiencing a stepping up of contradictions in the realization of our party's program and the decisions of its 11th congress. Problems have come to light in the national economy and in domestic and foreign trade. Unresolved questions in supplies to the population and incongruities in the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to labor have become more acute. Policy in the sphere of wages and social payments is a subject of lively debate. Environmental conservation is causing concern.

The speaker went on to state that the dialogue which the SED seeks with the utmost determination requires two preconditions. First, what we are united on and what we are arguing about must have an unequivocal goal—the further building of socialism in the GDR. It is necessary to value socialist ideals, and not depart from our joint gains. Those who call this into question are jeopardizing the cause of the lives of generations.

Second: The GDR is and will remain a sovereign country. We will resolve our problems ourselves. Here, E. Krenz stressed, I am expressing the protests voiced in recent days and weeks by GDR citizens, who demand that Bonn and the mass media controlled from there stop their massive interference in the republic's internal affairs. This also applies to the absurd attempt to tell our party how it should conduct dialogue.

If the FRG Government could make up its mind to a realistic assessment of the situation, it would conclude for itself that the campaign against the GDR that has been conducted in recent months from that country's territory jeopardizes much that was agreed on a treaty basis and has already been achieved between the two German states for the sake of European security and the people. The assumption of a "duty to care for all Germans," assertions—far removed from reality—about greater German unity within the 1937 borders, the demand for a revision of the postwar European order—all this does nothing to help strengthen GDR-FRG relations or security in Europe.

In the spirit of the Treaty on the Fundamentals of Relations, we advocate good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation. The more than 30 treaties and agreements between the two states will continue to have great significance in future.

We reaffirm our commitment to peace. We will therefore continue to pursue a policy of dialogue, so as to secure a victory for reason and realism. We see no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, detente, and cooperation between East and West.

The speaker went on to say that the plenum will give the Central Committee and Politburo new forces. The decisive condition for the preparations for the 12th SED Congress is thereby created. The SED Central Committee general secretary stressed the paramount significance of his party's fraternal alliance with the CPSU. There can be no vacillation here. Alliance and cooperation with the CPSU and with all the fraternal parties is one of the foundations of our policy. For the GDR, effective cooperation within CEMA and the constant strengthening of the political alliance of the Warsaw Pact states is a fundamental condition for further progress.

Just as you cannot shut yourself off from the developments taking place in the world, so it is impossible for a communist party to remain aloof from processes that affect our movement itself, from perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. We have always said that we regard perestroyka in the USSR as a necessary process, boldly set in motion by the CPSU and its Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev. This process naturally has side effects that give some people misgivings. But these misgivings are also an expression of our profound inner link with the Soviet Union and our conviction that the future of socialism depends on the success of perestroyka in the USSR. We have identified the signs of the times, and are reacting to them appropriately. The experience of Soviet Communists, as our comrade in arms M.S. Gorbachev noted during the celebrations of the GDR's jubilee, will always be with us in our future work.

The Central Committee assures all the fraternal parties, our comrades in arms in the international workers' movement, and all fighters for social progress and peace that they can all continue to rely on the class solidarity of the SED and worker-peasant power in the GDR.

At forthcoming plenums of our Central Committee, the basic provisions for our party's 12th congress will be formulated on the basis of an accurate analysis by the party leadership and experts and by means of a collective exchange of opinions. The preparations for the party congress should become a broad democratic debate in our party and among the people.

We will also set about the further building of a socialist rule-of-law state, E. Krenz noted. In the period of preparations for the 12th party congress great significance is attached to dialogue reflected in the mass media. Our republic has talented, capable journalists who are ready for the political struggle and willing to work. At the same time our press cannot be a platform for groundless and anarchic gossip. It should be protected against becoming an arena for demagogues.

We too, the speaker stressed, now have a great opportunity which we ourselves have discovered, an opportunity in close contact with the people, in dialogue with all citizens of our country, and in a social atmosphere of glasnost and realism, by joint efforts to define new positions along our socialist path.

Gorbachev Influence on GDR Changes Denied

LD1910171189 Hamburg DPA in German 1546 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet head of state and party, had no influence on the removal of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary Erich Honecker during his visit to the GDR. Yuriy Aleksandrovich Gremitskikh, deputy spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told DPA yesterday in Moscow: "It cannot be that our side would have expressed any (personal) wishes, that is no longer possible, no longer necessary, and I would say that it is no longer the norm today." [passage omitted]

Hungary Adopts New Constitutional Amendments

PM1910113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "State Changes Name. Constitutional Amendments Adopted"]

[Text] Budapest, 19 Oct—A routine session of the State Assembly is at work under the dim red star on the main dome of the parliamentary complex. Incidentally, stars are being removed from all public places and state buildings that are not party-owned. The original weathervane will be replaced on the parliament building.

New storm winds are blowing at the session, too. Constitutional amendments were adopted today. Henceforth the state form of government will be a parliamentary republic. The country's name has changed from the Hungarian People's Republic to the Hungarian Republic. The Hungarian People's Republic Presidium is being abolished and replaced by a Hungarian Republic president as a "neutral authority." How and when will the president be elected? There have been stormy discussions about this. Will a referendum will be held this year (26 November or 3 December) at which the people will confirm one of the candidate presidents, or will he be chosen by the new multiparty parliament next year?

Party activities and management (the law on parties) is another important point on the session agenda. Other points are no less topical for the country. The law on the constitutional court, the law on the election of parliamentary deputies, the law on referendums (the first of which is planned for the near future on the question of the Hungarian coat of arms and the main national holiday), the law on a state accounts chamber (an organ controlling the government's financial activities), the resolution disbanding the workers' militia, the information from the finance minister on the property owned by the Hungarian Socialist Party and other social organizations—all these are subjects for discussion at the current session.

There have also been pointed discussions about how 23 October—the day that the tragic events of 1956 began—is to be marked this year.

PZPR Approves Results of Rakowski Visit

PM1910131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Results Approved"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct—At a routine session the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo has approved the results of the working visit to the USSR by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The official report stresses that during sincere and cordial talks with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the need to continue and enrich mutually advantageous interparty cooperation in all spheres was reaffirmed. The good and friendly relations between the two fraternal parties accord with the interests of Poland and its population and promote the strengthening of stability and peace in Europe. The PZPR will make every effort to ensure that none of the historic positive gains of Polish-Soviet friendship are harmed [narusheno].

During the Moscow talks, the report points out, there was an exchange of opinions on ways of solving the complex problems in the two countries. The improvement of mutual understanding should have a favorable impact on the intensification of interstate cooperation. The coincidence of views on the changes and reforms taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union, and the CPSU's support for PZPR policy were noted.

Poles Plan 'New Strategy' on Ties With USSR

PM1910142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Poland: New Strategy?"]

[Text] The Polish Government intends to elaborate a new strategy in relations with the Soviet Union.

M. Nezabitowska, Polish Government press spokesman, said this at a press conference in Warsaw yesterday. She stressed that this foreign policy course will be based on observance of existing bilateral agreements and pledges

stemming from Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact and also the Soviet Union's interests.

It is expected, M. Nezabitowska said, that one of the questions that must be discussed in the course of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's impending visit to Poland will be linked with the preparations for T. Mazowiecki, head of the Polish Government, to visit the USSR. According to her, the Polish side would like to conclude new financial and economic agreements with the USSR. Moreover, Poland is endeavoring to clear up the "blank spots" in bilateral relations.

Touching on recent statements by Polish Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski at the recent Sejm session regarding the so-called "Soviet occupation of Polish eastern voivodships," the government spokesman said that people in Poland are not calling the country's eastern borders into question.

Polish Debates on Economic Issues Viewed

PM1910151789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report: "Turbulent Debates"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 18 Oct—In Poland everything is changing so rapidly that even events of 6 months ago are regarded by people as ancient history bearing little relationship to reality today. Is it really so long since the law on the indexation of wages was adopted? The roundtable participants proposed it as a serious safeguard designed to protect medium- and low-income citizens against inflation and the dramatic rise in prices for food, primary necessities, and essential services. But the roundtable agreements, as we know, were elaborated collectively by the representatives of virtually all the political and social tendencies and groups in Poland, including the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and Solidarity, which forms the government now. The law primarily envisaged supplements to wages and pensions and subsidies linked to each new price rise. To some extent it was supposed to maintain the living standard of ordinary people. It is a necessary law. And suddenly it... ceased to operate. What has happened?

During the discussion at the recent Sejm sitting, questions, disputes, and debates on the new version of the law on indexation offered by the government occupied the bulk of the time. Many deputies termed the document extremely "unclear" and even "muddled." [passage omitted]

The country expects the government to come up with large-scale solutions affecting the policy on incomes and price formation. These are the crucial and most sensitive spheres of the economy today. There can be no way out of the crisis without a partial lowering of the population's living standard, Deputy J. Hopfer of the Christian Social Union said from the Sejm rostrum. But at the same time it is intolerable that those who are raising prices should be allowed to get rich. The union's deputies club is opposed to price formation not monitored by the government. The PZPR deputies' club also adheres to this position.

The Polish Government has presented its economic program for overcoming the crisis to examination by the Sejm. It is in two parts: One provides for the achievement of a certain equilibrium in the economy in the next few months; the other section is longer-term and is designed to help stop inflation and the slump in production. It is too soon to pass judgment on it. T. Mazowiecki characterized the program in these terms: "Although incomplete, when compared with all that has gone before it offers the greatest opportunity of achieving the fairest and best possible living conditions." Poles would very much like to be sure themselves that Mazowiecki's comment is correct.

A PZPR Central Committee Politburo statement on the cooperative system was issued in Warsaw today. This document has been adopted because the Polish Council of Ministers has sent the Sejm a draft law on amendments to the organization and activity of the cooperative system, confirming the government's resolute intention to eliminate state and cooperative ownership—which is contrary to the provisions of the country's Constitution. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has protested resolutely against any fragmentation of social ownership and points out that it considers that its duty is to defend cooperative members and their property.

Measures Against Polish Cooperatives Criticized

PM1910142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Morning Edition p5

[Report by own correspondent L. Toporkov plus report by TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin under the general heading: "Bitter Taste Left by 'Honeymoon'"]

[Text] The first month of work by the new Polish Government is over. It passed against the background of a free market, with prices soaring but not the output of goods. Changes are envisaged with regard to ownership, which will be based on selling some of the national wealth to the public and privatizing many enterprises. The government program also contains a number of other radical measures.

The program certainly provides food for thought, and one thing is already beyond doubt: It is being taken seriously. But it has one feature which is bewildering. The Polish Council of Ministers has deemed it possible to propose a draft law on cooperatives as one of the first steps. This has given GAZETA WYBORCZA the satisfaction of describing the planned measures as the "swan song" for cooperatives. They must expect to receive a crushing blow. The whole point is that the opponents of cooperatives in Poland feel that these are too... socialist. In our country, on the other hand, some people regard cooperatives as breeding grounds for... "capitalism."

The same phenomenon is being approached from different angles, but the basic thrust is the same: to make short work of the cooperatives.

But let us go back to the draft law that is going to be discussed in the Sejm. According to the weekly POLITYKA, it will cause uproar among those whom it concerns, because "once again, the state is doing violence to the cooperatives." How is it possible to take cooperatives' own property away from them and then... order them to buy it back? Such things did not happen even under [Boleslaw] Bierut. In order to buy up the vast amount of material assets that have accumulated over the decades, each cooperative member would have to find several million zlotys. They are thereby being knowingly placed in conditions where the greater part of their property will be auctioned off and will fall into the hands of people with a lot of money. This is known as the privatization process.

The offensive against the cooperatives is being waged under the guise of combating monopolism. Unions of cooperatives in various sectors are regarded as responsible for all manner of economic ills. I have been able to get closely acquainted with many Polish cooperatives and, frankly speaking, I have not found them to be monopolists of anything. As a social enterprise, each one plays an important social and economic role: Not taking a penny from the state, they give the state millions in the form of taxes and fill holes in the market.

It is even hard to imagine, for example, that Warsaw cooperatives such as "Motousluga," "Swit," and "Orion" could be ruined. Take the first one. It not only provides a service for vehicle owners but also produces spare parts. Approximately 3,000 people work in "Motousluga," and its workshops—of which there are some 600—are scattered right across the city and even extend into the Warsaw Voivodship. The cooperative has a turnover of 10 billion zlotys. And its net income amounts to 200 million zlotys. The people earn good money and, like all people working in the cooperative system, they have no intention of going on strike because, after all, bosses do not go on strike.

The "Swit" Cooperative is one of the oldest in the country. It has been going 45 years. Invalids work in this cooperative and manufacture cosmetics. And what cosmetics! They are even exported to other countries. The cooperative (which has a workforce of 1,100) successfully deals with social tasks, and not only in the production sphere: It also has a medical center, which is excellently equipped, which makes it possible for people to feel better and be of use to society. Again, without taking anything from the state, "Swit" gives the state a great deal. "Orion" has a workforce of 620. It specializes in sportswear, which is in enviable demand. The cooperative used its own resources to build a fine new workshop—a real factory, where the working conditions meet modern standards.

What does the Polish cooperative movement consist of? It consists of 15,200 cooperatives, which provide work for 2.2 million people. Every year cooperatives build approximately 45 percent of all housing in Poland, provide 60 percent of all consumer services, and 83 percent of all gastronomic services.

I ask myself: Why must all this and much more be destroyed simply in order to erect something different on their ruins? And when will this "something different" produce results? A cooperative is an amazing organism. There is no such thing as a loss-making cooperative: It either is or is not. The cooperative, as they say, is doomed to succeed; it is such an uncommonly successful form of self-governing economic activity perfected through long experience in many countries that the interests of society and the individual working person coincide.

It is believed that the privatization of social property can only cause harm. It is a very serious issue. It has even been discussed by the country's main cooperative council. It has issued a legal assessment of the draft law on changes in the organization and activity of cooperatives. The first point is that the new government, which has declared itself to be the government of the people, is using bureaucratic-edict methods. Without consulting the cooperatives, the government is deciding their fate. Aware that there is going to be a cooperative congress in December, at which it is proposed to put forward measures to improve the cooperative movement in the spirit of reform, it has decided to speed up events.

The council has lodged a protest in connection with the appearance of a draft law which violates the fundamental principles of the state and conflicts with the statement by T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in the Sejm that the government will build the state on the basis of observance of the law. The draft law encroaches on group ownership, which is specially protected under the Constitution.

The greatest disaster as far as the reforms are concerned is that the economy is being approached with an ideological yardstick. To give it its due, the former opposition thoroughly condemned this approach, attacking the party for its practice of ideological diktat in economic activity. But what is happening now? Having championed economic pluralism in the past, the former opposition appears to have forgotten its own principles now it is in power. It seems to be taking on board all the worst features of the old-style Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the whole of the old administrative system: It is starting to give orders and apply pressure. But, as the facts show, only with regard to the socialized sector.

For example, a totally blatant offensive is now being waged against the "Igloopol" Agro-Industrial Combine. A model economic unit has been selected as the target. The combine recently changed its status and became a joint-stock society. Every member of its workforce was given the opportunity to become a shareholder or, in

other words, the co-owner of his enterprise. However, this has not stopped J. Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, from setting up a commission to investigate the combine and its activity. What about the formula of noninterference by the government in the affairs of economic enterprises? No one has heard any mention of a similar commission auditing a small, private, capitalist business.

I read an interview with L. Walesa in GAZETA WYBORCZA, and this is what I learned. Question: "Solidarity" symbolizes the strong helping the weak. But the plant trade union committee at the Gdansk Shipyard has announced that it is in solidarity with Mrs Piasecka-Johnson and will not take part in the warning strike called by the regional "Solidarity" authorities. Does this not herald the end of "Solidarity"? Answer: I helped in making this decision.... Strike action could influence the decision of Mrs. Piasecka.

The uninitiated will understand little of this. Mrs B. Piasecka-Johnson is a wealthy American woman of Polish descent who has invested $100 million in the development of the Gdansk Shipyard, thereby becoming its co-owner, strictly speaking (an example of privatization for you). So we can bow and scrape before her—heaven forbid that she should be offended and withdraw her capital—but it is all right to put the screws on cooperatives and "Igloopol," as they smell of socialism.

So, what exactly does "Solidarity symbolize"? Who is helping whom? What explanation is there for the fact that on Friday, 13 October representatives of the 7-million-strong army of trade unions and labor veterans turned up at the Sejm for a demonstration to make their demands known in the face of the continuing economic catastrophe? They held banners saying: "We urge the government to tightly control prices and stifle inflation"; "We do not want charity"; and "Decent wages for good work." Discussion of amendments to the law on indexation began in the Sejm that very day. When the opposition was not in power, during the "roundtable" talks it had demanded the introduction of full, universal indexation for wages (so that wages keep pace with rising prices) and rejected levelling, selective indexation. And it got what it wanted.

But now, the person who forced through the law on indexation—namely, J. Kuron—is backing down, because now he is minister himself he has realized that it is one thing to be a critic of the "regime" and quite another to be the executor of authority yourself. Now he is in favor of a levelling indexation system and a new taxation system, which are expected to check the flood of worthless money onto the market.

The "honeymoon" of the new government has proved difficult. Its proposed program to improve the economy has prompted a far from uniform reaction in Polish society.

Warsaw, 17 Oct—After a stormy discussion marked by great polarization of opinion, on Monday the Sejm adopted the draft of changes to the law on wages indexation, which affects the interests of millions of ordinary Poles. The principle of indexation provides for an automatic increase in working people's material remuneration proportionate to the index of growth in prices, which is designed to ease the effects of progressive inflation and rising prices.

The draft approved by a majority vote envisages payments for indexation purposes only if the rate of increase in wages at enterprises does not stay ahead of the rate of growth in retail prices. What is more, enterprises will have to pay large fines to the treasury for above-norm payments of material remuneration which exceed the limit set by the government.

Spokesmen for the government have not concealed the fact that this model of indexation is primarily designed to ensure a balanced state budget, as the deficit now stands at just under 5 trillion zlotys, or that the working people should not expect any improvement in living standards in the near future. As Jozef Lochnowski, Polish deputy minister of industry, admitted in the Sejm, more than 90 percent of working people in state enterprises will not receive a single zloty in compensation.

However, this time observers' main attention has been drawn not by the upheavals surrounding the adoption of amendments to the law on indexation but by the closing stage of the sitting, which is traditionally given over to deputies' questions. Deputies from "Solidarity" raised the question of Poland being paid compensation for the damage incurred by the country during World War II.

Delivering the official explanation, Polish Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski claimed that the process of Poland securing compensation from Germany after the war had been "very unsatisfactory from the outset," because the Soviet Union had pledged to satisfy Polish demands for compensation from its part of the reparation. According to him, this solution to the problem was extremely disadvantageous for Poland, as it did not give it the opportunity to put forward its own demands in relation to Germany, which was under allied occupation at the time.

The minister questioned that Poland had received the part of the reparation that was its due. From these sums, K. Skubiszewski said, "we should deduct the cost of the Polish coal supplied to the Soviet Union at that time at prices which were then 10 times lower than world prices." At the same time, the minister completely ignored the numerous instances when the Soviet Union has given Poland all-round assistance during the 45 years of Poland's existence. Particularly in the country's most difficult period after the war, when a considerable amount of Soviet aid was given gratis.

K. Skubiszewski supported the speech by "Solidarity" deputy W. Kowalski, who demanded material compensation from the USSR for the Poles who "were victims of the Stalinist system" in the war years. He gave assurances that the government will be taking steps in this

direction. The minister also described the reunification of the West Ukraine and West Belorussia as the "occupation of eastern Polish voivodships," thereby equating Soviet actions in that period with the aggression of fascist Germany against Poland.

Zaykov, Stepan Address Prague Seminar 17 Oct

PM1910100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Warmth of Fraternal Meetings"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Oct—L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee, is continuing his stay in Czechoslovakia.

Within the framework of the "Moscow Days" festival, delegations from twinned districts of the two capitals today at a "roundtable" in Prague's Palace of Culture exchanged experience of political and organizational work by party and local authority bodies in conditions of restructuring. This seminar continues the established practice of cooperation between city and district party organizations.

M. Stepan, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and first secretary of Prague City Party Committee, delivered a report to the participants in the seminar. He stressed that the Czechoslovak capital's Communists show great interest in the affairs of the Moscow city party organization and are prepared in turn to share all the results of their own work with their friends. Mutual creative enrichment of the theory and practice of party and local authority work in our capitals will benefit partners and effect perceptible changes in the life of the two twinned cities.

The present meeting, L.N. Zaykov stressed in his report, takes place during a jubilee year, the 20th anniversary of the establishment of friendly ties between the districts of Moscow and Prague. The accumulated experience of socialist building is our common asset. However, we do not make full use of it. The restructuring of sociopolitical and economic relations in both countries, geared toward the renewal of socialism, requires the further deepening of efforts in the quest for the optimum solutions, a radical improvement in party organizations' style and methods of work, and the strengthening of their vanguard role in the struggle for the triumph of socialist ideals.

Restructuring has entered the crucial phase of practical actions. CPSU strategy—the course toward a new quality of socialism—is being embodied in concrete decisions and real actions. Our well-gauged political line, realistic assessment of what has been achieved, and timely adjustment of our activity in accordance with changes in the situation are the basis for our progression. To confirm its right to lead society, the party itself must resolutely renew itself and develop the processes of democratization within its ranks. The CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum and the decision to convene the 28th Party Congress in a year's time are a new step in grasping the dialectics of the revolutionary transformations initiated by the party.

The scale and complexity of the tasks facing us have become a real test for party cadres and the CPSU elected aktiv. Confidence, political maturity, the ability to champion a political platform, competence, and the ability to work with people are taking center stage. In all our work we are endeavoring to utilize our friends' experience. We are confident that after this "roundtable" our common fund will be swelled with new and interesting undertakings.

L.N. Zaykov and M. Stepan answered numerous questions from the participants in the seminar. Then there was a thorough discussion of the various aspects of the activity of party committees, political and organizational work within individual social groups, and the means of strengthening sovereignty for the people and solving pressing socioeconomic problems. Party and local authority workers from Moscow's Baumanskiy, Kalininskiy, Leningradskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Proletarskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Sovetskiy, Sokolnicheskiy, Taganskiy, and Frunzenskiy Rayons and their counterparts in Prague took part in the debate.

The Moscow delegation met the leaders of the Prague National Committee at the Town Hall who spoke about the work being implemented to develop the city and its social sphere. They discussed the concrete prospects for broadening cooperation between the two capitals.

In the afternoon L.N. Zaykov and members of the delegation from Moscow visited the "Jugo-Zapad" residential district—one of Prague's rapidly developing housing units. It combines original design and a comprehensive approach to the development of the entire infrastructure with consideration for the needs and interests of new residents of all ages.

The delegation visited the "Tatra-Zlicin" enterprise. When construction is completed this will be a very large plant producing the streetcars well known to Muscovites and the inhabitants of many cities.

The "Moscow days" are attracting tens of thousands of Prague inhabitants. Ideological and economic seminars are vigorously under way. Moscow's trade union activists met with workers from Prague enterprises. It is always animated in the House of Soviet Science and Culture where a varied youth program for the holiday is under way.

In the evening L.N. Zaykov left Prague for Moscow. He was seen off at the airport by M. Stepan, Mayor Z. Horcik of Prague, and other officials.

The send-off party included V.M. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Stroyev, CPCZ's Zajic Discuss Cooperation

PM1910134789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] On 18 October Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with M. Zajic, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who stopped over in Moscow en route for Pyongyang. In the course of their conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, they exchanged information on the progress of the implementation of CPSU and CPCZ agrarian policy and discussed questions pertaining to the deepening of bilateral cooperation in the agro-industrial complex.

Ceausescu Receives USSR Economic Delegation

LD1710120689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, 17 October (TASS)—Nicolae Ceaucescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], and president of the SRR [Socialist Republic of Romania], received a delegation from the USSR here today, which has come to the Bucharest international fair "TIB-89." The delegation includes specialists, directors of major industrial and agricultural enterprises and the leaders of government institutions in six union republics, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Moldavia, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan.

The leaders of the Soviet delegation, L.I. Grekov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers told N. Ceaucescu about the guidelines for implementing economic reform in our country. The arrival of so large a delegation at "TIB-89", they stressed, is evidence of the growth in interest among Soviet specialists in the possibilities of the Romanian economy and demonstrates our desire to deepen mutually advantageous cooperation.

After briefing the Soviet guests on the development of Romania, N. Ceaucescu noted that the broad and committed participation of Soviet representatives in the current international fair will enrich both sides and create genuine possibilities for expanding fruitful contacts between individual enterprises, districts and Soviet Republics, between the SRR and the USSR.

In talks with M.S. Gorbachev, the Romanian leader went on to say, we reached a common conclusion on the existence of potential for strengthening links between the economies of the two countries. We can also discern such potential within the framework of CEMA, bearing in mind as well the further improvement of that organization's machinery of operation. Touching upon several problems of the contemporary development of socialism, N. Ceaucescu noted that imperialist forces are endeavoring to discredit socialism. However, he stressed, it is only under socialism that it is possible to attain preeminence over capitalism. The state, as representative of the people, governs a country better while an integrated planned economy is the guarantee of successfully developing the economy.

West Europe

CPSU's Zagladin Meets With PCI's Occhetto

LD2010055589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2320 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Rome, 20 Oct (TASS)—V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and advisor to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who is in Italy, met Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, [PCI], here on Thursday. During a conversation which took place in a cordial atmosphere, the course of perestroyka being implemented in the USSR and M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy were discussed.

Antonio Rubbi, a member of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, took part in the meeting.

Italian Party Delegation Studies Soviet Farming

PM1910133989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party exchanges between the CPSU and the Italian Communist Party [PCI], a PCI delegation to study economic and social aspects of the agrarian transformations in the USSR headed by G. Schettini, member of the PCI Central Committee and head of the PCI Central Committee Agrarian Section, visited the Soviet Union 11 through 18 October. The delegation visited Moscow and Kiev and toured Kiev Oblast. The Italian comrades held talks on questions of the CPSU's agrarian policy at the current stage at the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and the SELSKAYA ZHIZN editorial office. They visited food and processing industry enterprises and a collective and a state farm, where they acquainted themselves with new forms of management and the progress of transformations in the economic and social life of the countryside.

USSR-UK Trade Commission Ends Session

LD1910214789 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Soviet-British intergovernmental commission for cooperation in the fields of applied science and technology, trade and economic relations concluded its 16th session here today with the signing of the final protocol and other documents designed to boost business ties between the two countries.

The delegations were headed by Soviet Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and British State Minister of Trade Lord Trefgarne.

The documents envisage the establishment of a joint working group to elaborate a new programme for the development of economic and industrial cooperation between the USSR and Great Britain through the year 2000.

The programme is expected to be signed during Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to the USSR in the summer of 1990.

The construction of Britain's trade centre in Moscow will be an important step in the development of bilteral trade. The Carol Group of Britain and the Moscow City Directorate for High Rise Buildings agreed to set up a joint venture that will build the 20-storied building. It will house offices of British firms, conference halls, restaurants and auxiliary services.

Rank Xerox and the Serpukhov-based (Moscow region) paper mill signed a protocol for cooperation in the production of high-grade paper and copying machines in the USSR. A substantial part of the paper would be exported to western countries.

Legal Cooperation Discussed With French Official

LD1810203589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, today received Robert Badinter, president of France's Constitutional Council, who is in the USSR. An exchange of views took place concerning the opportunities for expanding Soviet-French cooperation in the legal sphere, including matters relating to making internal legislation match international commitments.

Primakov Receives European Parliamentarians

LD1610192989 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—At a meeting in the Kremlin today, Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Anders Bjoerk, president of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, stressed the need for broader cooperation between Soviet lawmakers and members of the European body.

Participants in the conversation described President Mikhail Gorbachev's address in Strasbourg last July as a starting point for the development of contacts.

Stressing their desire to preserve and strengthen the constructive impulse given by that statement, they exchanged views on specific steps to intensify ties.

The parliamentary assembly is one of the effective channels for European relationships, it was noted at the meeting.

Its future application, as well as the use of other forms of parliamentary links, is especially obvious in the light of trends towards enhancing Europe's role at the turn of the century, Primakov said.

He also pointed to the need to turn towards the practical implementation of the "all-European home" idea.

Protocol on Borders, Trade Signed With Turkey

TA1810175289 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Two additional border crossings are to be opened between Turkey and the USSR. Turkey will extend a loan of $350 million to the Soviet Union to be used in investments. These decisions were included in the Turkish-Soviet Joint Economic Committee protocol signed in Moscow. The protocol was signed by Ekrem Pakdemirli, finance and customs minister; and Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of foreign economic relations.

According to the protocol, in addition to the East and Sarp border crossings, one of the two new crossings will be opened in Ahuryan, and the other in the Nakhichevan autonomous region. According to the protocol the loan will be invested in light industry. Furthermore, the Soviet Union will electrify various railways in the Thrace region. According to the protocol, Turkey will import natural gas from the Caucasus. The natural gas will be used as raw material in various industrial installations and power stations.

Supreme Soviet Session

Commissions Debate Labor, Trade Union Issues

904F0009A Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by V. Karpov: "The Trade Union Variant"]

[Text] "The commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet continue to discuss the plan and budget. The "expert evaluations" are proceeding unlike those of past sessions—dynamically, and pointedly.

The changeover to economic accountability [khozraschet] is leading to a situation where the enterprises are beginning to economize on the development of the social sphere. Should the government really allow this?"

"I think the plan was developed on the basis of previous ideas—a lot of the 'growth' is not backed up by resources. And in general we should have begun to develop it in the local areas, from below. Otherwise we deputies are now in the role of extras—it is practically impossible to make a serious impact on the proposed figures."

...A meeting of the commission of the Soviet of the Union on questions of labor, prices, and social policy is in progress. The next section of the plan is being discussed: the development of the material and technical base for the social sphere. Questions, remarks, rejoinders—practically all deputies are participating most actively in the discussion. It is sometimes difficult for the speaker from the government, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] S. Sitaryan. But it is better to examine the plan closely now than to make up for it later at the price of extraordinary measures and decisions.

On the one hand one cannot but rejoice about the fact that in the plan a sharp and decisive step has been taken in the direction of the development of the social sphere. A ratio that is extraordinarily important for the consumer is being suggested (perhaps for the first time?): The growth rates of group B, the production of consumer goods, will outstrip the development of group A by a factor of 13! And this is during the course of 1 year. But upon closer examination it tuns out that this difference has been achieved by reducing the output of means of production. The overall quantity of goods in the stores throughout the union will not increase by much—from 27 to 28 percent. And it is quite possible that the increase will be completely illusory—resulting from higher prices.

Another question also arises: The reduction of capital investments will lead and already is leading (TRUD has written about this) to a sharp increase in unemployment. Thus construction organizations of the Ministry of Power and Electrification alone will release 20,000 people and the Ministry of Construction for Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises—70,000. The overall number of unemployed could reach 1.5 million! I used an exclamation point, but in the plan they bypass this problem. Although in order to create an unemployment fund, and one must be created, it will be necessary to allot 6 billion rubles. And how will we retrain these same construction workers in new specialties, through which program? This is also unclear. Will we really have to simply drive people out into the street, creating critical new social conflicts?!

Or take the housing problem. Next year it is intended to reach the mark of more than 140 million square meters of housing. These are the rates that will make it possible by the year 2000 to provide each family with a separate apartment. But how realistic is this earmarked figure? For in 8 months of this year the program for introducing housing has been fulfilled by only 40 percent.

"Even in Moscow," says V. Shcherbakov, people's deputy, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council (he is also participating in the commission meeting), "for the first time in many years we have failed."

"What is the matter?"

"20,000 construction workers have gone into cooperatives. They pay more and the deductions into the budget are less. I see the solution in equalizing the rights of state and cooperative enterprises."

The budget, the plan... The price level, the number of schools, hospitals, and clubs that are built, our daily existence, life itself all depend on them. This is why the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council] representatives are also participating most actively in all stages of the discussion of the plan and the budget. They all have the same task: to protect the rights of the workers, the housewives, disabled persons, veterans...

At the meeting of the committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for protection of the health of the people the position of the trade unions was defended by AUCCTU secretary G. Sukhoruchenkov. The AUCCTU suggests bring the medical service for the workers closer to the enterprises, the workplace, and developing a network of medical and sanitation points. Including at the expense of the factories and plants.

Unfortunately, emergencies and accidents have become the norm. Last year alone more than 13,000 people died in production. An immense sum is being spent on the protection of labor—more than 3 billion rubles. But the return is not great. And today more than 9 million people are working under harmful conditions: noise, vibrations, dust. Moreover, with the introduction of economic accountability the enterprises are economizing on the reconstruction and installation of ventilation. In this situation the trade unions are suggesting that the government adopt a national program for the protection of labor.

At one of the commission meetings AUCCTU Secretary K. Turysov expressed doubts about the growth of real

income by 4 percent which is being planned by the USSR Gosplan. What is the basis for the government's optimism if, on the one hand, strict measures have been adopted for restricting the growth of earnings and on the other prices are growing out of control? It is as though the plans have been attacked by inflationary processes. Just like the inevitable decline of the standard of living of people who are less well off. The AUCCTU has its own program for this. We are speaking about accelerating the nationwide discussion and adoption of the law on pensions and beginning its stage-by-stage introduction even next year. Public consumption funds are to be redistributed in favor of the poor and republic and enterprise funds are to be drawn in to solve this problem. The problem of writing off debts will be looked into.

Confidence... This subject comes up more and more frequently at meetings of the commission. Is it possible to have confidence in one or another goal of the plan: to what extent are they backed up by resources and action? S. Sitaryan has his own explanation for all the confusion in planning. There is not enough money or manpower and the government is proceeding from the notion that there is. This does not mean luxury! So be it, but why set figures for the sake of figures and make promises for the sake of promises? As early as the beginning of the year the government adopted a decree concerning the output of goods for children and the elderly at reduced prices. At that time the AUCCTU allotted 150 million rubles for these purposes. But where are the goods? There are none now and there never have been any. Because once it made the decision the government was not concerned about the mechanism which would motivate the producers to produce such items. In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Uzbekistan, and other republics the state order was not even given to the enterprises.

"The AUCCTU to S. Shalayev. ...In order to accelerate the solutions to social problems in our oblast the USSR Council of Ministers in March of last year adopted the corresponding decree. But the RSFSR Gosplan allotted only 4.5 million rubles instead of the 18 million that were planed for the development of medical service. The amounts for housing construction have been cut. Confidence in the authorities is declining.

"S. Stralnikov, chairman of the Murmansk Oblast trade union council."

AUCCTU sector chief S. Kormilkin brought this telegram to the commission meeting and asked that it be given consideration.

"The government," he took the floor, "had the opportunity to solve the most pressing social problems both in Murmansk Oblast and in the country as well. By reducing funds for the development of the industrial sphere. But the plan was drawn up in the previous traditions. I think we can and should increase the plan for introducing hospitals and polyclinics...."

"But how can the trade unions make the government accept their suggestions?"

"We have already sent our remarks to the USSR Gosplan and Council of Ministers," A. Kormilkin said. "If they do not take them into account the deputies from the trade unions will lose their positions. We must fight...."

Moscow TV Shows 18 Oct Supreme Soviet Debates

1600 GMT

LD1810172589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 18 October begins carrying a recorded relay of the proceedings at the 18 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

Cameras show scene at Supreme Soviet just before session. Nishanov says there is a quorum of deputies. He says the draft law on local self-government and local economy is up for discussion today.

At 1603, Pivovarov, chairman of the committee on the operation of soviets of people's deputies, development of administration and self-government, takes the rostrum. The soviets are bodies of democracy and glasnost, Pivovarov says, and they must have adequate resources. In the past, the soviets have had to play a secondary role with regard to party and economic organizations.

Pivovarov goes on to develop the theme that the soviets have to go cap in hand asking for money, while in New York, for instance, the city council gets huge annual sums from things like parking fines. The committee backs the main points of the draft law, but there are failings of a conceptual nature in the document, he says, he shows a bundle of papers containing what he says are proposals from deputies on the draft law.

There must be a new understanding of the importance of financial and material back-up for the local soviets, and local sources of revenue must go toward the local budget, so that those who pay taxes see how the money is spent. The committee has tried to study foreign experience, which shows that the powers of local authorities are being strengthened. Canadian practice is most interesting in this respect.

The rights of self-government should belong to a territorial collective, and there must be legal and economic back-up, Pivovarov continues.

Pivovarov runs through some of the main points of the draft law. The draft establishes the independence of soviets in matters falling within the scope of their authority. The concept of "territorial collective" is one of the draft's new features. Economic relations with enterprises are to be placed on a contractual footing. The soviets should be able to set their own budgets, with revenue coming from local taxes. (At 1635, the camera shows Yeltsin in the hall.)

Certain matters to do with local self-government cannot be fully resolved until the laws on ownership, land, taxation etc are in place. Pivovarov suggests that the committees and commissions do further work on the document and prepare it for tabling in November.

Pivovarov then reads out questions that have come in to him: local help for the needy, agricultural production, proposals from experts. He assures deputies that these points are covered in the general principles.

At 1644, Deputy Travkin reaffirms that the draft law establishes general principles only, and all the details have to be determined by republican laws. He says that it is crucial to involve all people in society in the new forms of ownership and self-government. The place of the soviets of labor collectives has to be defined, and they should become bodies of local authority at work.

1652 GMT

LD1810173489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1652 GMT on 18 October continues carrying a recorded relay of the 18 October Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

Deputy Denisov makes a point about the need to link property and not place of residence to local revenue; i.e. it doesn't matter where a citizen lives, but his property should contribute to the local budget.

At 1654, Deputy Kisin says housing, transport, monuments, relations between the soviets and the courts, and other matters are not dealt with specifically in the draft law.

At 1658, a 15-minute break in the recorded proceedings is announced to make way for a children's program.

1714 GMT

LD1810184189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1714 GMT on 18 October resumes its recorded relay of the 18 October Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

Desyatkov dwells on the section on ecology and rational utilization of natural resources and whether the local soviets should be responsible for the comprehensive use of natural resources.

At 1718, Nishanov reads a proposal by a deputy that enterprises should be responsible for repairing premises gratuitously.

At 1719, Guliy talks about the draft law for returning power to the local soviets and establishing local self-government and suggests that it should be published in the press for nationwide discussion.

At 1723, Nishanov asks whether there should be a vote on this.

At 1724, Makhanov continues to discuss this law and relations between local soviets and the enterprises on their territory.

At 1730, Gayer talks about the law on land use with respect to the Far East, a representative of ethnic minorities whose livelihood depends on the forests, she condemns the alliance of the forestry economy and the forestry industry economy organizations which is causing these peoples to lose their livelihood in the maritime territory and the young workforce to desert the villages there.

At 1737, Shcherbak speaks about fines exacted for ecological damage by enterprises, which was discussed yesterday in Kiev. He proposes a system of levels for local soviets, and that national problems should be resolved by local soviets. The newspaper VECHERNIY KIEV should be proclaimed the organ of the Kiev City Council. Regarding the draft law on socialist legality, he proposes that a section on municipal militia be introduced into the draft law, he proposes numerous changes in its wording.

At 1743, Rakhimova continues on the draft law on local self-government, and proposes that the local soviets should be recipients of fines exacted by the people's control bodies for various violations. She continues with proposals for further amendment's to the draft law, but approves it in general.

At 1748, Sakharov says that today's discussion is devoted to implementing one of the slogans of perestroyka—all power to the soviets. He speaks of partocracy and people's power. He says that they are on the threshold of a multiparty system.

At 1751, Nishanov interrupts Sakharov and reminds him that his time is up.

At 1752, Sakharov concludes.

At 1752, Prudnikov expresses support for the immediate publication of the draft law for public discussion.

At 1753, Buachidze quibbles over the wording of a clause in the draft law regarding property of the local economy and speaks about communal ownership of property.

At 1757, Prokopyev deals with the differences that have arisen regarding the draft law on property and on local self-government, in particular the authority of republics over their natural resources and the ownership of shares by local soviets.

At 1803, Semukha speaks about the need for concern for people, for health care, and says that local soviets should be responsible for hygiene education and for the care of the elderly on their territory.

At 1806, Lutsans says that the draft law on self-government is still dictated from the center and could be decided in the republics. He blames the economic chaos within the country on unsound strategy. He states that

centralization will lead to collapse, leaving the republics with no choice but to secede from the union. He complains of injustice in the union, especially regarding the Baltic republics.

'Outburst' Mars Ownership Law Debate 18 Oct

PM1910155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Morning Edition pp 1,2

[Report from the USSR Supreme Soviet second session by parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov: "From Draft To Law"]

[Excerpts] The 18 October morning plenary sitting, which was chaired by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, began with a discussion of the draft law on the general principles of local self-management and local economic activity in the USSR, submitted by the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management.

Deputy N.D. Pivovarov spoke on the committee's behalf. He talked about the great deal of work that preceded the submission of the draft for examination by the session and described its main articles and provisions. He also answered written questions. In his speech Deputy N.I. Travkin stressed that it is no accident that the name of the law contains the words "on the general principles." It ought not to be specific, in fact. It is the job of republic legislation to make it specific. According to the deputy, the draft must include a provision on public self-management committees and on labor collectives' councils as organs of soviet power in industry.

The draft says a great deal, A.A. Denisov said, about soviets' rights, but nothing about their responsibility to citizens. I believe that the law should contain a relevant section.

The Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management sent out copies of the draft to the republics, krays, and oblasts, enabling people's deputies and soviet personnel to acquaint themselves with it. Deputy V.V. Guliy reckons that these actions by the committee should not only be approved, but should become part of the practice of all authors of new legislative acts.

Deputies V.I. Kisin, V.M. Desyatov, and others participated in the discussion.

...But let us return to the parliamentary debate on the draft Law on Ownership, which occupied a large part of the morning and evening plenary sittings on 17 October. The essential problems is rights of ownership of land, mineral wealth, and natural resources in autonomous entities.

People's Deputy B.V. Adleyba noted that there is no mention of these rights in the draft law. If one continues to creative legal acts in this way the tension in interethnic relations is not going to be relieved. On behalf of the members of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Questions of the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage deputy, O.V. Chernyshev expressed doubts about whether the draft law was ready for discussion at the Supreme Soviet session. He read out the commission's findings and proposed that a number of the articles and provisions in the draft law should be revised.

The draft submitted for discussion offers nothing to the autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs, Deputy Ye.D. Aypin said.

Having described the advantages of the draft law, people's deputy A.A. Sobchak dwelt in detail on the articles that require amendment. He proposed, in particular, measures that could guarantee an owner compensation for all his expenses if the state and its legislative organs decide in the future to revise the laws that are being adopted today. All citizens, labor collectives,. and other associations or organizations must have the right, the deputy stressed, to demand compensation through the courts for loss of ownership.

There were interesting proposals in speeches by a number of other deputies. During the two days, A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, announced 30 deputies have participated in the discussion of the draft law. Isn't it time the debate was closed? But another 26 people have registered to speak. The question had to be put to a vote. Some 260 people voted in favor of closing the debate, 154 voted against, and 8 abstained. [passage omitted]

N.I. Ryzhkov supported the proposal by a number of deputies that the draft under discussion should be sent for amendment and then published for nationwide discussion.

When A.I. Lukyanov read out the draft resolution on this matter there was a sudden outburst in the auditorium, despite the fact that the vote had been in favor of the draft as a basis and a proposal had been submitted on discussing it point by point. Very substantial objections were made by people's deputies E.V. Bichkauskas, I.N. Gryazin, E.Yu. Yusupov, Yu.Yu. Boldyrev, G.M. Voskanyan, and others. Basically they were about the composition of the editorial commission to prepare the draft law on ownership for printing for nationwide discussion.

The chairman announced an adjournment until the chambers' evening session, urging the session participants to moderate their emotions and approach the discussion calmly and judiciously, remembering that the law would be the central one in an entire package of laws stimulating the economic and political reform of society.

Work continued on the draft resolution throughout the break. Before it appears in the press the draft law itself

has yet to be examined, together with all the amendments and additions made at the suggestion of people's deputies, at plenary sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet second session. But despite this, despite the fact that the composition of the editorial commission to prepare the draft law for the press has been revised—it includes M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, and the chairmen of all our parliament's committees and commissions—the debate flared up with renewed force after the break.

People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov insisted on the publication of different versions of the controversial articles in the draft law. And a number of deputies from autonomous republics insisted that the autonomous national entities' inalienable right to land and natural resources should be envisaged. In particular, People's Deputy S.N. Khadzhiyev demanded that the matter be put to a vote. Some 125 deputies voted for his proposal, 238 voted against, and 39 abstained.

People's Deputies G.S. Igityan and Ye.V. Kogan, A.O. Dobrovolskiy and I.O. Bisher, A.A. Sobchak, V.S. Advadze, S.S. Alekseyev and D.N. Kugultinov fell out... Deputy Ye.A. Gayer proposed checking our draft laws against international legal documents and norms, in particular with the convention envisaging and regulating the rights of small peoples who do not have their own statehood...

It needed two votes to approve the draft decision on further work on the draft Law on Ownership in the USSR, in particular its preparation for nationwide discussion. Eventually the decision was adopted, but the Lithuanian representatives did not participate in the vote, expressing their minority view.

Again the session returned to the discussion of the draft resolution "On regularizing the commodity purchasing activity of cooperation and regulating prices for goods (services) sold by cooperatives to the population and organizations." People's Deputy A.A. Sobchak went to the microphone many times. The Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order had entrusted him with the task of defending and explaining the results of its rather protracted work on the document. After a prolonged discussion the resolution was finally adopted.

Following a brief debate on the proposal by Deputy N.N. Gritsenko and other deputies on sending the draft Law on Ownership in the USSR to the USSR Academy of Sciences, the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and the State Committee for Public Education for discussion and expert consultation, the chairman read out a people's deputies' appeal to the Presidium.

The session participants supported the proposal to extend the plenary sittings this week. It was decided to discuss the draft Law on the General Principles of Local Self-Managament and Local Economic Activity in the USSR on 18 October.

But that is where we began our report..

Lukyanov Addresses Anticrime Committee 18 Oct

PM2010083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Combat Crime"]

[Text] A regular sitting of the Temporary Committee to Combat Crime in the USSR was held 18 October with A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the chair.

The committee sitting heard reports by K.Z. Terekh, USSR Minister of Trade, and P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the USSR Central Union of Consumer Societies Board, and proposals by V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, on stepping up the struggle against speculation and abuses in trade. It was recommended that firm measures be applied to eliminate the causes and conditions promoting breaches of trade regulations and to get rid of persons abusing their official position. Note was taken of an announcement by A.M. Filatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, that the question of judicial practice in the application of legislation in speculation cases is scheduled to be discussed at the next USSR Supreme Court plenum. Temporary committees in union republics were instructed to examine the question of improving legislation on the struggle against speculation and abuses in trade with due consideration for the republics' specific conditions.

V.V. Bakatin and USSR Minister of Justice V.F. Yakovlev reported on progress in the fulfillment of instructions by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the elaboration of a statewide comprehensive program to combat crime. It was decided to speed up its elaboration and to have deputies conduct an expert study of the draft.

In compliance with the USSR Supreme Soviet's 4 August 1989 resolution "On Resolutely Intensifying the Struggle Against Crime," the committee examined proposals by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs on the application of exceptional measures to combat criminal elements.

The sitting approved model statutes for temporary committees to combat crime and examined some other questions of strengthening socialist legality and law and order in the country.

Addressing the sitting, A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the Temporary Committee to Combat Crime in the USSR, reminded participants that it is just over 2 months since the country's Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution "On Resolutely Intensifying the Struggle Against Crime," which provided for the formation of the Temporary Committee to Combat Crime in the USSR and corresponding committees at local level. This decision met with universal support and is having a steadily growing effect on the situation in the country.

Of course, A.I. Lukyanov noted, it would be a great exaggeration to speak of any serious positive developments, let alone a radical breakthrough in this area. Nonetheless, we do have grounds for saying that, in many respects, a number of militia subdivisions, state security organs, and other law enforcement organs have started working in a new fashion. Temporary committees have been created and have started functioning at local level. The attention of soviets of people's deputies, labor collectives, and public organizations has been drawn to these questions. In other words, today we are dealing not only with launching assertive activity by law enforcement organs but also with stepping up the comprehensive effect on crime of all measures of an economic, social, political, cultural, and educational nature.

The model statute of temporary committees to combat crime follows along this track. The point is that some citizens' impression of the temporary committees' objectives and tasks is not quite correct. Some people even depict them as some sort of updated and modern "Cheka" [Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage] vested with some special powers. The other viewpoint—that all that has been created is just another superstructure, just another administrative organ—does not correspond with the real state of affairs, either.

The essence lies elsewhere. The main task which temporary committees have to solve is to organize collaboration between soviets, law enforcement organs, labor collectives, the broad public, and citizens in the solution of immediate tasks to combat crime. The model statute defines the committees' legal status quite clearly. This document directly points out that they function on the basis of the strictest observance of the demands of the USSR Constitution, the constitutions of union and autonomous republics, and USSR laws and laws of union and autonomous republics. Fundamental importance attaches to the norm whereby the committees cannot intervene in operational, investigative, and procedural work on specific cases by the militia, investigative organs, prosecutor's offices, and courts.

Being accountable to the corresponding soviets of people's deputies, the temporary committees are designed to actively utilize all powers vested in state organs and their organizational potential and cadre and material resources and to mobilize all the reserves of society and primarily of the criminal justice system. All their work must and will be done in conditions of maximum glasnost.

In this context it is worth emphasizing another quite important factor. From the very start, matters ought to be organized so as to comprehensively and calmly analyze objective data on crime in every region, to offer a flexible and appropriate response to changing circumstances. In this process it ought to be borne in mind that the publication of statistical data on crime is by no means uniformly perceived. Sociologists remark that this fact, in itself, played and continues to play a dual role. On the one hand, the alarming and confusing effect of this type of information has been objectively intensified while, on the other hand, attempts are made to introduce an element of complacency, claiming that things were actually worse in the past.

Therefore, let me emphasize again: There must be no lurching. The committees, in the center and at local level alike, must avoid extreme attitudes. While pursuing a resolute and uncompromising line of combatting crime, it is impossible to tolerate leniency by law enforcement organs and legal liberalism. To put it more simply, it is a matter of avoiding substitution of terms, with cruelty replacing strictness and impotence and total license replacing humanism.

Both the Supreme Soviet and local soviet organs receive quite a few communications, some of which essentially claim that law enforcement organs in places, afraid of going too far, are not going far enough. To a certain extent this situation has been affected by not always considered articles about actions by the militia, prosecutor's offices, and courts, as well as by a certain leaning in scientific debates toward humanism and mercy for criminals. But society feels unabating alarm that humanization of the administration of justice often turns into protection of the rights of lawbreakers rather than of victims, and there are frequent infringements of the rights and interests of people who have fallen victim to organized crime, robbers, thieves, and cheats. This often gives people grounds to conclude: Mercy toward dangerous criminals is nothing but cruelty toward their victims. This opinion must be heeded.

It is well known that there have been quite a few court cases in which criminals, bandits, and sundry corrupt elements who had evaded retribution have adopted the role of "victims of tyranny" so well that, without batting an eye, they have virtually equated themselves with the victims of Stalin's repressions. It is necessary to overcome this kind of trend, and temporary committees must uphold this principle in all their practical work: In a rule-of-law state, crime must be combatted only by legitimate means.

While targeting the struggle against organized crime, speculation, criminal actions in cooperatives' activity and among young people, and drug addiction, we must not forget the social rehabilitation and employment of persons who have served their sentences. And of course, constant attention must be paid to the development of large-scale preventive work aimed at eliminating the causes and conditions promoting breaches of the law in the economy, in trade, and in daily life. Indeed, one of the most important functions of temporary committees is to coordinate the actions of soviets of people's deputies, of law enforcement, state, and economic organs, and of labor collectives and public organizations aimed at resolving social tasks.

Despite all the importance and justification of additional measures to combat crime, we must under no circumstances lose sight of the overall strategy for the recovery of social morals. We have all the opportunities to ensure a balanced approach toward everything concerning the restructuring of work to prevent breaches of the law and to effectively defend citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

The Law on the Status of Judges has been adopted. The agenda of the Supreme Soviet's current session includes the draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judiciary and drafts of the USSR Law on Procedure for Appeals to the Court Against Unlawful Actions by Organs of Management and Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights and the Law on Liability for Contempt of Court and Interference in the Determination of Trial Cases. USSR People's Deputies have received the draft Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation, where many provisions have been amended in the spirit of enhancing the law's effectiveness, democracy, and humanism.

Of course, great hopes are associated with the implementation of the legal and judicial reforms, which are in fact designed to make the activity of these organs monitorable by deputies and the whole people.

It would of course be dangerously confusing to assume that the norms in question and the provisions of the laws now being prepared will be to everyone's liking. Jurists even in ancient times said that laws are made not to be loved but to be respected. Respecting a law means observing it.

The adoption of the model statute of temporary committees to combat crime essentially means a qualitatively new step in the organization of their activity, A.I. Lukyanov said in conclusion. The need to create the temporary committees was dictated by the realities of our life. If they are in existence, and if there is a need for them, it is our duty to justify these hopes—from the viewpoint of defending Soviet citizens' rights and legitimate interests and from the viewpoint of defending Soviet democracy.

A large group of USSR people's deputies took part in the committee's work.

Commission Discusses Ethnic Germans, Autonomy

LD1910140589 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The territory of the former German Volga Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (several areas in the Saratov and Volgograd regions) is best suited for the establishment of autonomy for Soviet Germans, the Supreme Soviet Commission on the Problems of Soviet Germans decided today.

The commission discussed a bill on priority measures to clarify the status of ethnic Germans living in the Soviet Union.

The reinstitution of autonomy and the full rehabilitation of Soviet Germans is of primary importance, the meeting was told.

"These issues must be decided as soon as possible. They are ripe and must be solved," commission chairman Gennadiy Kisilev said.

Representatives from the Saratov and Volgograd regions, who attended the meeting, supported the basic provisions of the bill.

The rights and interests of people currently living on the territory will be taken into account, it was emphasised.

After the necessary changes are introduced in the bill, the commission will prepare the final text, which will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The measures stipulated in the bill will be implemented in stages.

Adamishin Interviewed on Draft Law on Entry, Exit

LD2010041589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1715 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Video report by Correspondent Vladislav Flyarkovskiy]

[Text] [Video shows Flyarkovskiy reading a document] [Flyarkovskiy] The USSR Council of Ministers presents the draft USSR law on the procedure for exit from the USSR by citizens of the USSR. The law establishes legal guarantees for the realization of this important right with regard to each Soviet person. It accords fully with the USSR's international obligations, including international pacts on civil and political rights and the Vienna accords. I request you to examine it.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

That is the title page of the document placed on the desks of the deputies who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs. [video shows Flyarkovskiy standing in a lobby]

In the past—you could say always—the procedure for drawing up an application to leave the country and to enter it was regulated by a multitude of instructions, legally binding documents, or enforceable enactments—or anything except the law. But now, at last, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet set about discussing the draft law in the Granovitaya Palata of the Kremlin yesterday evening. It's not that it is the first of its kind: It is truly the first.

To begin with, the draft was presented by its authors. Then there were questions, answers, observations and, finally, a decision by the deputies to pass the proposed draft on to the subcommittee for documentary cooperation, which is headed by Deputy Burlatskiy, Fedor Mikhaylovich, for further study. [video shows committee meeting]

[Video shows Flyarkovskiy with Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin, in a lobby] You are just the person, all the same, whom I should like to ask to say a few words, simply as a representative of the authors. Since this was the first hearing, the first discussion, of this law, it will probably be more successful if it is you who answers some of our questions. In general, the fact that this is the first time that a law of this type is being adopted in this country is a truly significant point—and even in the Constitution, as far as I am aware, there is no provision regulating dealings of this sort by the state with its citizens. Hitherto, I feel, there has been too much arbitrariness in the procedure for drawing up an application for entry and exit by citizens in our country. But, even if this draft law has a happy fate and the law is adopted, are there guarantees that that arbitrariness will indeed cease immediately, or will there be inertia? What do you think?

[Adamashin] First of all, I want to say that, of course, the Foreign Ministry participated in this work alongside a very large number of other departments. It was a collective job. We were interested in it, above all, from the point of view of its correspondence to international obligations; and I think that when I said at the hearings today that this law corresponds to high international standards, from the point of view of law and correspondence to the obligations which we have undertaken, in both international pacts and the Vienna accords, then that corresponds to reality.

[Flyarkovskiy] And is it radically out of keeping with the practice which we had previously?

[Adamishin] We now have something very interesting: Will the law function? I believe that every one of us realizes that it is very important to have good laws, but that is not quite the whole story. You cannot demand complete perfection from a law: You cannot fit all the eventualities of life, and so on, into it. The way in which the law is implemented in practice is of very great importance. Guarantees of the individual—and the right of exit is one of the serious rights of the individual—these guarantees are ensured by the laws, of course, but also by the other parts of the structure of the law-governed state: The possibility of protesting, the glasnost which we have, the display of disagreement with the functioning of the law, the possibility of appealing and protesting against the actions of administrative staff, and so on. Therefore, as far as the law itself is concerned, it is irreproachable from the international point of view. As for how it is carried out, that will depend on how the law-governed state is constructed in our state overall, but I think...

[Flyarkovskiy, interrupting] What about the state's treatment of the individual?

[Adamishin] That is one of the important parameters of the law-governed state, not only with regard to the individual's position vis-a-vis the state, but also from the point of view of the state's position vis-a-vis the individual. But I think...

[Flyarkovskiy, interrupting]...that this law is positioned on that side?

[Adamishin] Yes—and that what is going on in our country now, the new bricks which are being put up in the building of the law-governed state and the new atmosphere which there is in the country, principally the atmosphere of glasnost—incidentally, we have here reached parameters for which many countries can envy us, including countries with a long history of democracy: All this can act as a pledge that both this law and other laws in the humanitarian field, in the field, say, of freedom of conscience and of public organizations, and so on, which are being prepared now and which are intended to create a kind of breakthrough in this direction, will function.

[Flyarkovskiy] So they, strictly speaking, are intended to ensure the gurantees about which I asked you, are they?

[Adamishin] Again, it is not just the laws, but the whole structure of the law-governed state which ensures those guarantees—including the mood of people, their desire to respect those laws. [words indistinct] since the days of Herzen, unfortunately, it has been the way that every Russian tries to get round the law, and the state does it first of all. Unfortunately, we have had not only democratic traditions—which we have had—but also authoritarian traditions. It is now very important for us to cast off these chains of our authoritarian habits and to embark upon a genuinely democratic path of development.

[Flyarkovskiy] Anatoliy Leonidovich, judging by everything, this law will liberalize more the procedure for entry and exit in our country. But there is a well-known story, for example, that in the 1970s, and the Americans themselves admitted this, incidentally, that they solved their problem of providing mathematicians by 50 percent at the expense of the USSR in the 1970s. Will this story not be continued now?

[Adamishin] You know, I would not underestimate this problem, because, of course, when for the first time in the history of our country such extensive rights of departure are being given, then there could be problems, especially at first, which are unfavorable for the general development of society. The whole question is how to combat this problem. Previously, we combatted it by command-and-administrative methods, with a ban: You cannot depart, and that is that. But a person is not the property of the state. The state cannot decide arbitrarily who can depart and who cannot. That means that it is necessary to do things in such a way and create the conditions—and this was said at the committee today—which would reduce this inclination to leave. You recall that Mikhail Sergeyevich once said that we are trying to create the sort of state which nobody would want to leave. In general, I have the impression that we are not a

nation of emigrants: It is not the case that if you open the gate the whole Soviet Union will run off, as it were.

[Flyarkovskiy] You have touched on the interesting subject of the status of the individual, the person who has made the decision to leave. As far as the state which has dismissed him is concerned, he does not die, he is still a person. I don't think that this aspect, the person who has left, is examined in this law, this bill. You know, probably better than all of us, about the problem of dual citizenship: It is not touched on here. The word "defector" is not mentioned in the bill—will you be doing away with it altogether?

[Adamishin] Let me tell you this: Again, it is impossible to settle all eventualities in this law. There is a law on citizenship. There is a whole series of provisions which are now being adopted with regard to our compatriots—non-Soviet citizens who have kept their Soviet citizenship. And the law which has been examined today guarantees the right of entry for Soviet citizens; it limits it in exceptional cases.

[Flyarkovskiy] Including those who have recently left for permanent residence?

[Adamishin] Any of them. If you keep your Soviet citizenship, you are a Soviet citizen, and the same rights as all Soviet people have are extended to you. But, of course, it does not deal with those people who have lost Soviet citizenship. But that does not mean that a whole system of measures to cast a different light on our relations should be carried out, as they say, with regard to those people. Our Visa and Registration Directorate has said that the motherland should show her compatriots a welcoming face. That, I believe, says it all, from all points of view—legal, economic and political. And I believe that the motherland, all of us together, can obtain not only a moral benefit, but also a purely economic one, in this area, as they say.

[Flyarkovskiy] That is, indeed, the way it will be: The motherland will show a welcoming face if the law looks welcoming. What do you think—is it welcoming?

[Adamishin] I can say with complete certainty and repeat what I said at the hearings: From my point of view, this law is at a high international level, and it is fully in accordance with our international obligations.

Committee Debates Easing Travel Restrictions

PM2010095389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[M. Kozhukhov report under the rubric "In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "On the Right of Exit From and Entry to the USSR"]

[Text] On 18 October the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee began examining the draft law on Soviet citizens' right of exit from and entry to the USSR.

Indeed: Why should "they" be able to travel while we cannot? Why should the whole enormous and beautiful world be open to "them" while you or I cannot simply buy a ticket and go wherever the fancy takes us? Did whoever created this whole cumbersome procedure of "formalities for foreign travel" seriously believe that a reference bearing a round seal and containing compulsory assurances of moral stability constitutes a guarantee of patriotism? After all, there is no better proof of the absurdity of this procedure than the "nonreturnees"—an invariable attribute of our country's political portrait—who successfully made it through the sieve of the rayon committee exit commissions.

To build a home which you can leave but do not wish to leave—that, in essence, is the lofty point of the perestroyka that has been started. And therefore the law whose first reading has been held in the International Affairs Committee seems exceptionally important. I will not venture to assign it a particular number in the list of priority legislative acts to be adopted by the Supreme Soviet, but it is clear: The right of freedom of movement for each of us is a substantial step toward creating a really open society.

Here in a nutshell are the main provisions of the draft law. In order to travel from the USSR on private business any citizen who has reached the age of 18 years will need only a personal application to internal affairs organs. No political or other considerations can be a reason for refusing the right of exit, provided, of course, the person who is leaving the country is not bound by commitments before the state or private individuals (criminal proceedings or alimony payments, for instance). Moreover: Although the period for the examination of ordinary exit applications is limited to 1 month, in cases where the trip is prompted by the need for urgent medical treatment or some other pressing reason, the request for the issue of a foreign passport must be examined in just 3 working days. An interesting detail: In cases envisaged by the USSR's international commitments, the state undertakes to pay the costs of medical treatment for citizens who have traveled abroad privately.

As for those who decide to leave the USSR forever, the main proviso here is not a prohibition so much as a protective measure aimed at defending the individual's rights: Permission to enter the state chosen as the new place of permanent residence will be required. In order words, confirmation that they agree to take you.

The procedure that formerly produced the painful problem of the "refuseniks"—those who were refused the right to leave the USSR on the grounds that they knew information constituting a state secret—is being greatly simplified. Now such bans will operate for no longer than 5 years, and the term can be reduced if the state secret ceases to be such. And each of us, when we enter "secret service," will now know precisely when the exit restriction can be lifted.

Here is yet another most important feature of the draft law (incidentally, the first such law in the entire history of Soviet power): It establishes equal rights for all USSR citizens without exception, including the 150,000 of our compatriots living permanently abroad while retaining Soviet citizenship. Moreover, the draft, for instance, provides for the inviolability of all the rights guaranteed by Soviet legislation for those who decide to return to reside permanently in the USSR. Similarly, no restriction of the labor, housing, or other rights of citizens who have asked to go abroad is permitted. "Renegade," "traitor to the motherland," and other such terms—fortunately, it looks as though these too will be things of the recent past.

However, the first reading of the draft law prompted questions about some of its articles, which certainly require clarification. In the opinion of Deputy G. Arbatov, for instance, the provision that permission for exit from the USSR on private business may be refused "in the interests of protecting public order and the population's health and morality" needs to be more precisely formulated. Who is going to be so bold as to determine what is in line with the "interests of morality" and what is not?

Another obstacle to exit is "undischarged obligations to the state," but what precisely? F. Burlatskiy drew deputies' attention to this obscure point and also proposed that the law enshrine the possibility of judicially appealing the actions of state organizations refusing citizens the right to leave the USSR.

For his part Deputy V. Karpov expressed doubts about the legality of the provision that "personal money is not exchanged for foreign currency for USSR citizens leaving to reside permanently abroad." A justified criticism: People are scarcely going to venture to set out on a long journey when they have every right but do not have a penny in their pockets. On the other hand, this year alone, according to certain estimates, around 200,000 people will leave our country to reside permanently abroad—the state will not be able to stand such a "load" if it pledges to exchange the personal money of departing citizens for dollars and marks. So one way or another, there must be a norm for currency exchange—for as long as the problems of the deficit economy collide head-on with the interests of the law-based state. And this is just one of the "currency" problems that the adoption of the new law will create for us, for it is easy to see that the number of people wanting to travel abroad privately in order to earn some money will be considerable, especially at first.

Incidentally, how serious will the possible "brain drain" stemming from this fact be for our country? Well, certain problems are inevitable, in deputies' opinion. But they must be combated not by prohibitions but by the means at the disposal of a law-based state—"a home which people will not want to leave"...

Deputies V. Goldanskiy, Ye. Kim, N. Neyland, and others also took part in the discussion of the draft law.

The proposed procedure for exit from and entry to the Soviet Union by USSR citizens is fully in line with international human rights pacts and also with the commitments assumed by our country in the course of the all-European process. That is the opinion of Deputy Foreign Minister A. Adamishin, who commented on the draft law during its discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Commission. However, and it is also hard to disagree with this, the effectiveness of even the most wonderful law can be ensured only by the entire structure of a law-based state. To bring all instructions and resolutions regulating the specific implementation of the law "up to" the level of the law itself within the shortest possible time and to expose these instructions to glasnost—that was the urgent recommendation of the International Affairs Committee as a result of the first reading of the draft law.

Committee Discusses Bill on Law, Order

LD1910183689 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Video and sound tapes, as well as film and still photography, are permitted as evidence in court by the bill on amendments and additions to the fundamentals of federal and republican criminal procedure.

The bill, drafted by the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs and other law enforcement bodies, came under preliminary discussion today by the Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Legality, Law and Order.

Representatives of the Interior Ministry, the Procurator's Office, the State Security Committee and other departments stressed that the growth of organized crime makes procedural means at the disposal of criminal inquiries and preliminary investigation bodies inadequate for the full and expeditious disclosure of criminal offences.

The bill envisages a substantial expansion of the potential of the criminal investigation departments in collecting and using evidence in court.

It envisages tapping telephones. The bill notes, however, that the use of technical means, which infringes on the inviolability of housing and the secrecy of correspondence and telephone calls, is only permissible with the procurator's sanction. In addition, weighty data must indicate that a grave crime has been or is about to be committed.

It also provides for the protection of witnesses and victims against unlawful pressure by interested persons.

Supporting the general message that the criminal investigation's procedural base needs to be strengthened, many commissioners were critical of the bill's individual provisions.

Deputy Aleksandr Yakovlev, Moscow, noted that a broad interpretation of certain provisions may result in their abuse by the criminal investigation bodies. According to him, telephone conversation tapping was only permissible with the sanction of the court, not the procurator's office.

Chairman of the parliamentary committee Sergey Alekseyev stressed that the rigid measures envisaged by the bill, can be applied only if the criminal process in the country becomes more humane. The role of the court must grow and the counsel for the defence must be allowed to participate in the preliminary investigation as a whole, not only at its closing stage, as is now the case.

The committee decided to have the subcommittee work on the bill and then submit it for further debate.

Sobchak on Work of Tbilisi, Legal Committees

LD2010031589 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Supreme Soviet has discussed the draft plan and budget for next year and bills on land, pension security, and other documents. The press has focused on two meetings: One was held by the commission assigned by the Congress of People's Deputies to investigate what happened in Tbilisi on 9 April this year when 16 people died as a result of the suppression of a rally; the other was held by the legislation and law and order committee. The chairman of that body Anatoliy Sobchak has given this acount of the investigation's results:

[Begin Sobchak recording in Russian fading into English translation] Our overall conclusion is that in adopting the decision to disperse an unauthorized rally in Tbilisi on 9 April Soviet legislation was very seriously violated. This led to tragic consequences. As is known internal troops, law enforcement forces, and army servicemen were used to disperse the meeting.

At the same time the parliamentary body failed to say unequivocally what has caused the death of 16 people. Right after the event they were reported to have been crushed by the crowd. However, senior medical experts had been giving different interpretations. The commission decided to forward the results of expert findings to the chief military procurator's office to give its verdict on the degree of the responsibility and bring those guilty to trial or hold them otherwise responsible. Nor could the commission clearly identify those who used a toxin not listed among the special means used by the troops to disperse the rally. The document is almost 40 pages long. It will be made available to the Supreme Soviet and will then be published.

The legislation and law and order committee members and law enforcement body officials discussed ways of using advanced techniques by investigators. The law enforcement bodies proposed introducing amendments to the criminal code and various legislative acts to commit greater use of techniques to prove guilt in crimes. This implies the use of video facilities and tape recorders and the tapping of telephone conversations. This is necesary in particular to prove the guilt of those leaders of organized crime groups who are not immediately involved in committing a crime but who plan or direct it. Besides, the use of these techniques will help to exclude influence by criminals in the course of investigations on witnesses and plaintifs. The committee members recognized the need to use advanced techniques for investigation purposes in principle. However, they demanded setting limits on these facilities and determining the degree of responsibility for their abuse. A subcommittee was asked to scrutinize the problem with scientific assistance and give its conclusion in a month's time. [end recording]

Local Soviets, Denigrators of CPSU Discussed

PM2010093189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin report under the rubric: "Kremlin Debates. Opinions of People's Deputies": "Formulation of Initiative"]

[Text] There has been no shortage of memorable speeches at the session. The phrase "we live as we work" has virtually become a catchword. But Deputy A.G. Zhuravlev from Minsk added to it with the rejoinder: "We live as we manage," referring to the impotence of local soviets on their territory. It is no coincidence that the basic normative acts scheduled to be adopted at the current session include a draft law on general principles of local self-management and the local economy.

It is hard to expect an end to the rapid stream of complaints that are paralyzing the work of whole departments until the soviets become the true masters in their oblasts, cities, and rayons. It has been calculated that in the first 9 months of this year alone the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reception office received almost 600,000 statements of all kinds, and most of the questions raised by their authors should have been resolved at local level.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already announced that the Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of the Soviets has drafted its own version of the document based on of the draft law on local self-management submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers which was also discussed at the plenary sitting on Wednesday. At our request B.V. Miroshin, chairman of the subcommittee providing legal backup for the activity of local soviets, talked about the distinguishing features of the new draft law and the progress of the discussion among the deputies. Boris Vladimirovich, chairman of Orsk's Sovetskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee,

was one of the leaders of the working group of deputies which prepared this version of the document with experts—a version that was approved at the session on the first reading.

[Miroshin begins] It is well known that laws and resolutions on local soviets were adopted in previous years, but they were ostentatious in many respects. Power seemed to have been given to us, but when it came to acting it turned out that we were still deprived of rights on questions of the regions' finances and social and economic development.

Here are some figures. Local soviets receive only 15 percent of all-union budget funds. Settlements and villages receive only 1 percent. A beggarly existence! I can tell by my own city. There are old residential districts which are not centered around "industrial giants" in Orsk, a major industrial center in the Urals. There is nobody to develop these residential areas, where mainly pensioners live. There is no one even to provide them with running water: The plants can but they refuse, we want to but we are unable. The city's budget must more than double in comparison with its present budget in order for Orsk to approach republic normatives by the year 2000 for sociocultural and consumer amenities. Moreover, you can't take anything from enterprises nowadays: They now have their own law on the state enterprise and they will not engage in charity.

Our draft law envisages that local budgets will be increased by income tax from workers and employees who live on the soviet's territory: This represents an increase of 50 or even 100 percent. We deem it necessary for the local budget to receive the money paid by enterprises for their manpower resources. Taxes set by union organs of power and management, such as a tax on owners of private vehicles, are another source of funds. Half of the money received now passes into the republic budgets and the union budget. We are not convinced that local soviets should keep the entire sum. It is planned that enterprises will make payments to the local budget for all the industrial waste products they produce—even those that do not exceed the maximum permissible concentration—with a view to ensuring environmental safety for the territories.

[Miroshin begins] Admittedly, money is not everything, soviets are extremely in need of materials, particularly construction materials. We propose changing the current procedure whereby material resources are distributed by the government, mainly around sector ministries. Under our draft law the union State Committee for Material and Technical Supply system should meet the requirements of local self-management organs directly, bypassing departments.

The exchange of opinions at the session showed that the item concerning the economic foundation of local self-management, which, as recorded here, is formed by the land, its mineral resources, forests, and other natural resources, is one of the contentious points in our proposed document. It turns out that when we made the proposal we did not all realize correctly that local soviets aspire to own these natural resources. No, it is a question of the foundation of the economy, the origin of life on our territory. Natural resources are still public property, they are a condition of life for the entire people.

It would in our opinion be a mistake to somehow try to divide and split this between cities and villages. A man who has come, say, from the Baltic to Kazakhstan or from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to Georgia has the same full rights to own this public property as the people who have always lived there.

The debate on how to correlate the rights of local soviets and enterprises began at the session and will obviously continue in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft law. There are two extreme positions. One is to allow the organs of self-management to dictate to production workers the amount of consumer goods, paid services, and so on they produce. The other is to prevent the soviets interfering in production at all. Our committee thinks that these relations must be put on a contractual footing. Otherwise territorial or industrial diktat may replace departmental diktat.

As for the debates at the session, we are grateful for all the critical comments and proposals, we will probably take many of them into consideration in our future work on the document. Although let me blunt and say that there were also proposals which were, in my view, cut off from real life and practice. Some of the recommendations concerned specifics, especially with regard to questions of ideology, public health, and public education. They are effectively correct but one must not forget that our draft law is described as a law "on general principles..." Specific details will emerge in the laws which will be adopted in the union and autonomous republics with consideration for their conditions. There is no point is us flouting other people's rights.

Our group, which is mainly made up practical specialists—soviet workers—will continue to collect material for the draft law along with other committees and commissions of deputies. [Miroshin ends].

Boris Vladimirovich concluded his statement here. The following may be added: The document at issue may be described as a law with a complex destiny. We must work continually to put the finishing touches to the draft with consideration for other laws in the "economic package." Especially since, although deputies wanted to elaborate an all-union law rather than directives, it did not prove possible to abandon a number of specific wordings relating to the budget of local organs' budgets. Otherwise, the authors believe that the financial departments will find a way to flout the soviets' new broad rights.

The committee has still not had time to examine several hundred proposals, they will be studied in the immediate future. Many of them echo those put forward during the debates at the session on Wednesday. Incidentally, these

debates were quite constructive if you do not count the quite unexpected attack by Deputies A.D. Sakharov and V.I. Kolesnikov. Their speeches contained no ideas about the draft law but made a distinct appeal calling for the party to be deprived of political power.

The grubby wave of "prophesies" about alleged "long-overdue diarchy" reached the Supreme Soviet rostrum from rallies where full-time orators practise their attacks on the CPSU. Once again these attacks were ascribed to "vox populi"... It is irritating when people use a right they have high-handedly arrogated to camouflage their personal ambitions. The aim is understandable—to set the supreme organ of state power against the leading political force in the country and secure a split in society so that it would be harder for people to identify who is defending whose interests and why.

[Miroshin begins] However, an attempt to introduce a new totally unconnected topic into the debate on the draft law was decisively squashed. I.N. Dyakov, a deputy from Astrakhan, who went up to the rostrum, rebuffed it. "Most of us are Communists," he said." "So whom are we setting against whom? It is the party that initiated the restoration of the soviets' role in the country. There is no political force apart from the party capable of taking charge of restructuring society on socialist principles."

After the sitting I met Ivan Nikolayevich and asked what prompted him to take the floor.

"It would be inaccurate to say that I took the floor," my interlocutor explained. "I was simply carried to the rostrum by indignation. It has almost become fashionable to unjustly and groundlessly accuse the party of all our ills—past, present, and even future. A host of accusations leveled at the party suddenly surfaced here, at the Supreme Soviet. But they do not correspond to the truth at all! The party and Communists have proved by their actions that they aim is to give all Soviet people an opportunity to lead a better life. Therefore we should pool our efforts rather than spreading dissension, which cannot of course have any beneficial results for the country. Certainly there are mistakes and miscalculations, and we have spoken bluntly about this. But attempts to play on our self-criticism are at the very least dishonorable. The party displays courage, as is illustrated by the resolute changes which are currently taking place in oblasts, cities, and rayons. The organizers and initiators of the changes are themselves prestigious people, Communists. But what do people who willingly sacrifice the truth for the sake of fine words and intrusively make repeated statements about their "oppression" bring about? My thoughts are: What will happen in the country if the "persecuted" become the persecutors? As we say in Russia, God forbid...

I had conversations with many deputies after the sitting and they agree with Ivan Nikolayevich. They are convinced that no one will succeed in diverting the normal work of the Supreme Soviet into the turtuous path of "soapbox" passions. S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Questions of Legislation, believes that the session must certainly close with major decisions, that is what people expect. The law on local self-management is among these decisions.

KGB Chief Proposes Reduced Border Zone

LD2010125989 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

New political thinking calls for a new concept of protecting the USSR state border, the Soviet Parliament Committee on Defence and State Security was told today.

Guarding the borders is the most important area in the work of the State Security Committee, its head Vladimir Kryuchkov said. This task is entrusted to the KGB border troops, which number more than 200,000.

Kryuchkov drew the attention of people's deputies to the fact that the situation on the border has recently changed. The number of business and private trips has increased. Last year alone several million people crossed the country's borders.

One of the major measures in the framework of the new concept is reducing the border zone which is currently 3,600,000 square kilometres. The KGB chairman believes that there is no reason to maintain it at this size. He urged drafting a system of measures to reduce the border zone and at the same time to ensure the full security of the border, which stretches today for 62,000 kilometres, of them 40,000 are on sea.

KGB's Matrosov Comments

LD2010134189 Moscow TASS International Russian 1234 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—The TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The USSR is to reduce the country's frontier zones tenfold. It is also planned to simplify the procedure regarding frontier crossing and to remove the barbed wire fencing from many sections of it.

Vadim Matrosov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, reported this today to members of the Parliamentary Committee for Issues of Defense and State Security. He spoke at the session of this committee today, in addition to KGB chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov.

Informing the members of the committee about the activity of the frontier troops, he said that in 1988 and 1989 3,400 violators were detained, 40 percent of whom were plunderers of the country's natural wealth. Often these actions acquire a purely political nature. These are precisely the actions that one comes up against, in the words of Vadim Matrosov, in the Far Eastern borders.

This year alone, in the area of the southern Kurile Islands, Japanese vessels have made approximately 9,000 attempts to violate Soviet territorial waters.

The deputy chairman of the USSR KGB dwelled in detail on the struggle against smuggling as well. He noted in particular, that of late attempts at the illegal transportation of narcotics and weapons have been made on the USSR's southern frontiers. Thus, over the last year and a half 400 kg of narcotics have been confiscated in the frontier areas of the Central Asian republics. He added that the territory of Afghanistan is being actively used for dropping armed groups into the territory of the USSR since the withdrawal from there of the Soviet military contingent. Therefore additional forces of frontier troops have had to be deployed on the frontier with Afghanistan.

At the same time, the normalization of relations with the majority of neighboring states is having a positive effect on the situation along the frontiers. According to Vadim Matrosov, it has considerably improved on the frontiers with Turkey, Iran, and Norway. He specially noted the normalization of the situation throughout the USSR's longest stretch of frontier—with China.

After detailed examination, the parliamentary committee approved the work of the USSR KGB regarding the organization of the protection of the state frontier.

Supreme Soviet Voting Irregularities Publicized

PM2010101189

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 October 1989 carries on page 1 under the headline "View From the Balcony" a feature comprising two photographs taken looking down from above on a section of the floor of the USSR Supreme Soviet and showing a Supreme Soviet member reaching across to press the voting button on the desk in front of his neighbor's vacant seat. The photos are accompanied by the following commentary by S. Kiselev:

"It will be out of place to mention those times, but I recall them...

"A note from the floor once reached the presidium of a lofty meeting: 'I earnestly entreat you to let me leave. If there is a vote, I am "for" the decision that is supported by the majority...' Naive, you will say? A joke? But, in my opinion, it is an accurate political characterization of the voting procedure at that time, when it was a rule of good form to vote with 'both hands.' It was. But is it over?

"Take a look at the photographs. Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having just voted themselves, are fulfilling deputies' duties for their absent colleagues. Having pressed the button of the electronic voting system on their own desk, they carry out the same simple maneuver on their neighbor's desk.

"I try to understand: The neighbor, let us assume, has left the hall for a minute and entrusted someone with voting for him. Not convincing. Because the powers which a USSR Supreme Soviet member receives from the Congress cannot be transferred to just anyone. Then why these 'innocent pranks'?

"The problem can be solved like this, for example. A personal key to the deputy's desk, issued on registration, will free 'truant parliamentarians' from the temptation to indulge in minor stratagems.

"The most frequently used word during this session is 'extraordinary.' And, probably, the deputies' responsibility for the decisions adopted must be at this level. Responsibility stemming from the generally accepted democratic principle of 'one man, one vote.'"

Political & Social

Politburo Meets on Elections, PRAVDA Editor

LD1910200889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting today, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined the matter of improving the leadership and coordinating the activities of oblast and kray party organizations in the Russian Federation, on the basis of the directives of the September 1989 Central Committee plenum and proposals from local party committees and Communists. The Politburo decided to submit a proposal on creating corresponding organizational structures in the CPSU Central Committee to coordinate party work in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for examination by a regular CPSU Central Committee plenum.

At the meeting, certain matters connected with the tasks of party committees during the forthcoming elections to the republican and local bodies were discussed. It was stressed that these elections are of major significance for the further implementation of political reform, for the renewal and strengthening of the local soviets as bodies of people's sovereignty, and for the entire course of perstroyka.

The Politburo noted the need for party organizations' active work, effective use of their democratic capabilities, and decisive improvement in all party committees' activities, particularly in the consolidation of their links with the masses. The CPSU Central Committee commissions approved proposals aimed at refining party organizations' work in preparing for the elections to republican and local bodies of power.

The Politburo heard a report on the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. It was stressed that the substantive and frank dialogue

which has gotten underway between the CPSU and international social democracy could offer the world very important ideas vital for envisaging the way into the 21st century. In this context the utmost support is deserved by the wishes expressed during the meeting to deepen contacts between the Socialist International and the CPSU, including the cultivation of a regular exchange of views not only on matters of security and disarmament, but also on the world economy and ecology, the scientific and technical revolution and information processes, on North-South problems, the prospects of socialism, and of civilization as a whole.

The Central Committee Politburo granted Afanasyev's request to be released from his duties as chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA in connection with his transfer to academic [nauchnaya] work. The Politburo expressed gratitude to Afanasyev for his many years of fruitful activity in the party press. The Central Committee Politburo confirmed Comrade Frolov as PRAVDA chief editor.

New PRAVDA Editor Ivan Frolov Profiled

LD2010120889 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Despite the fact that Ivan Frolov, 60, who was approved on Thursday PRAVDA editor-in-chief by the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, leaves the post of Assistant General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he is not a novice in the press.

After graduating from Moscow State University in 1952, he embarked on his career as a publishing house editor and worked at magazines. Frolov was assistant secretary of the CPSU Central Committee between 1965-1968.

Then he headed the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII, was executive secretary and member of the Editoral Board of the journal WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM) in Prague.

Frolov went in for scientific work and decade ago at the System Research Institute and then at the Philosophy Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. He wrote, together with Vadim Zagladin, the book "Global Problems of our Times: Scientific and Social Aspects".

He is philosophy doctor and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Since 1986 he was editor-in-chief of the jorunal KOMMUNIST before his appointment assistant to the party leader. Frolov, now a Soviet legislator, was elected member of the CPSU Central Committee at the latest party congress.

He heads the Soviet Philosophic Society, the All-Union Intersectoral Centre on man's sciences and vice president of the International federation iof societies of philosophy.

Viktor Afanasyev who headed PRAVDA until now, was released of his duties due to his wish to continue his scientific pursuits. He is also a philosophy doctor and member of the Academy of Sciences.

Further on Kryuchkov on Perestroyka in KGB

LD2010125589 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Additional part of interview with Kryuchkov; parts 1, 2, and 3 published in 19 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 42-44. Kryuchkov's responses recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation.]

[Text] [Announcer] We now bring you the last part of our reporter's talk with the chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR, the KGB Vladimir Kryuchkov. The closing topic discussed in the previous part was the opportunity for the KGB to cooperate with Western secret services. Vladimir Kryuchkov cited the first examples of such cooperation, they include joint operations against international terrorists and drug traffickers. Then our reporter told the KGB chief that mass media means had reported recently about the meeting in the United States of former workers on the staff of the KGB and the CIA. When asked to comment on this meeting Vladimir Kryuchkov said the following:

[Kryuchkov] This is not the first but one of the first meetings that our former workers had with representatives of the U.S. Secret Service [as heard]. We took advantage of the event that Americans planned in cooperation with the Soviet Peace Committee and included in the committee's delegation two experienced workers of the State Security committee. They are retired KGB Generals (?Shcherbak) and (?Zilsinkov]. They have rich experience of work at the State Security Committee and I am sure their contacts with their U.S. counterparts will continue in the future.

[Announcer] Our reporter asked Vladimir Kryuchkov if anything was known about the fate of the French collector Basmajian, who had disappeared in Moscow last summer? The KGB chairman said he could not tell anything definite so far about him.

[Krychukov] At first there were many versions of what had happened. Then some versions were dropped. This is natural for the first stage of the investigation when the investigators seek not to miss a single opportunity to clear the matter. Now we are working throughly on the remaining versions. I do not want to disclose their contents because this can interfere with the investigation. We are prepared to cooperate over that case with any country and with anyone who can supply any information. A man cannot vanish without a trace, someone must have seen or heard something and any information could help.

[Announcer] From time to time the Western press carries reports about defectors, former KGB officers among

them. Usually these reports have not been covered by Soviet media. What is your attitude to that problem?

[Kryuchkov] Yes there have been defectors from both sides. Officers of the KGB defected for various reasons. Some of them had family problems, others were not satisfied with their careers, or felt that they were wronged. My opinion is that those are not motives justifying such a step. It is wrong that they were subjected to very harsh treatment by the secret services of some Western countries, that they found themselves in situations designed to break their will and force them to commit a crime. This is no justification, but of course we bear this in mind. One may commit a very grave sin but retribution cannot hang over him throughout his life. The Soviet Union is a nation that can show mercy and those who may decide to redeem their guilt can always count on that.

Now as far as those who came to us from the other side are concerned, I can say with satisfaction that most of them were guided by ideological motives. They came to us as friends who accepted our system with their heart and soul. Many of them are feeling fine in this country and we are trying to see to it that they have no material or any other problems.

In conclusion I would like to take this opportunity and say that lately the KGB has received many letters from people in various countries and we were pleased to receive them. I would like to add that practically all of those letters are friendly. The letter writers are interested in the operation of state security services in general and would like to know how security officers live and what they are like. They would like to know about the KGB's plans as far as greater openness is concerned and also about its broader involvement in democratizing life in this country. We believe that this country needs renewal in order to be able to develop further and that is why we are protecting perestroyka and are making every effort to promote it.

Interior Minister Rebuts Yeltsin's Allegations

LD1910181589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] A briefing took place today at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center regarding the statement for the press by Comrade Yeltsin, USSR People's Deputy, in which he accused Comrade Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, of allegedly promoting the spread of rumors that discredit Yeltsin in the eyes of the public. In his report USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Bakatin said:

[Begin Bakatin recording] I must state clearly that I have set forth only official information which I received from militia personnel about the facts of Comrade Yeltsin's statement. That is to say, I have made public what Comrade Yeltsin himself told militia men. It is now known that he lied. Why he did so is another matter. Perhaps, it may be necessary to attempt to answer the latter question.

Moreover, in the course of the past 24 hours—16-17 October—Comrade Yeltsin lied at least one time out of two, and publicly at that. Either the first time when he stood up before the entire country, before the television cameras, following my statement and said that he has no complaints against the militia and did not reject a single word or fact of my statement. Or the second time, when 24 hours later, this declaration came out, which was evidently prepared by one of his assistants or aides.

The second question is: Who spread the rumors? The statement to militia personnel about an attack on him was made by Yeltsin himself and not the militia, nor by anyone else. Comrade Yeltsin is undoubtedly... [Bakatin changes thought] I think that you are well... you are acquainted with him better than with me and that you can confirm this... he is already a sufficiently adult person. At least, he is not a child and he understands well that a politician does not make statements so simply. I think that he also understands that the militia is obliged to and must, by reason of its responsibilities and duty, investigate any statement—whether it is oral, written, or made over the telephone is not important.

As for a promise to Comrade Yeltsin not to reveal, er, not to investigate his statement, as he says here, I could not give such a promise and did not have the right to do so, but simply could not because our conversation was on the 30th [September] when that investigation was already fully underway. But after he told me on the 30th in a telephone conversation—true he said it very much with reservations—that there had not been an attack on him, the investigation effectively was stopped.

I also want to emphasize this for the mass media that the investigation did not extend beyond the framework of checking the statement about attempted murder, and no further. What actually happened did not interest us. We did not investigate that, and we absolutely did not touch upon Comrade Yeltsin's private affairs. However, it was impossible to stop the rumors and, of course, it would be necessary to analyze the possible sources of the rumors. I think that Comrade Yeltsin himself is the obvious first source. A second is possibly the militia men of the guard who on 28, 29, and 30 September could have told someone something. Although, in violation of established procedural norms, written pledges were taken from those militia men with a request not to proclaim all that they know, even though they are obliged to do that, so to speak, by reason simply of their responsibilities. Thirdly, Comrade Yeltsin's entourage could promote the spread of rumors.

In any case, one of those who came to collect Yeltsin, said, according to the militia men—a fact which we managed to elucidate during the investigation—that it is necessary to immediately phone Sverdlovsk and likewise

that it is immediately necessary to inform foreign correspondents, and particularly the Voice of America about this. True, I cannot say whether these actions were undertaken, but such a statement and such a desire was uttered. And the fourth, possible, source is simply those who were at their country residence [dacha] at that time and those who, perhaps, also know something about what happened there. The inquiry's checking on the authenticity of rumors undoubtedly did not bear any relation to their spread. [end recording]

Opinion Poll Assesses Party Prestige

PM1810151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctors of Philosophical Sciences V. Boykov and Zh. Toshchenko: "The Party and Restructuring: In the Mirror of Sociology. Let Us Face the Truth"]

[Text] Without fear of not being understood, we are all talking and writing today about the crisis in our economy and in other spheres of our life. This prompts us to gain a more in-depth understanding of the reasons for the failures or, more accurately, determine the means of escaping from the breakdown. Yet it was not pleasant to subject pressing problems within the party to relentless analysis. Through fear of discrediting the party, it had become customary to discuss only the mistakes, shortcomings, and miscalculations in the activity of individual organizations and committees rather than the party's overall problems. Did this not help the party to linger at the starting block in its incipient restructuring? As M.S. Gorbachev said during the July conference at the CPSU Central Committee, the party ended up in a state of siege. A way out can only be found if one has a clear idea of the prevailing situation. The slightest oversimplification and smoothing over of sharp edges are impermissible here.

THE STOCK OF TRUST IS NOT EVERLASTING. Without doubt, most Soviet people still link their hopes for an improvement in their lives with the party and its policy. This was also confirmed by the data from an all-union sociological study conducted by scientists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences in June. But these data also showed that this credit is dwindling under the pressure of circumstances; and a critical attitude toward the work of party organizations, their leading organs, and communists is increasing. The reasons for this process were analyzed at the aforementioned conference at the CPSU Central Committee.

But is everyone fully aware of the destructive force of pent-up criticism in public opinion and behavior? One would not think that they are as yet. At the same time, the fact that more than one-third of the working people polled expressed doubts as to the party's ability to restructure itself and effectively fulfill its vanguard role cannot fail to provoke profound concern. One in four of those CPSU members who participated in the poll also adhere to that opinion. Moreover, most of them—as can be seen from the answers—favor restructuring, perceive it as the only way to realize the leading principles of socialism, and see the party as the guarantor of renewal. So, pessimism is caused not by denial of the need for the party's leading role but, on the contrary, by how the party's leading role is being exercised today.

It must be pointed out that the figures we have cited represent a mean indicator for the 16 cities, oblasts, and republics we surveyed. Muscovites, Leningraders, the people of Sverdlovsk, and the population of certain other regions display considerably more skepticism. It is particularly disquieting that many specialists and workers of a most active age voice negative assessments of party work.

How can we enhance its prestige, what is necessary for this?

The party's political and moral strength originates from the qualitative composition of its members. Proving this is equivalent to forcing an already open door. However, a CPSU member's role was for a long time reduced to the execution of individual organizational functions. His voice could, as a rule, only be heard as part of a "chorus." Initiative was crushed by regulations. The idea of a modern Communist was also eroded.

Incidentally, the fact that the majority of USSR people's deputies belong to the party is, of course, an impressive criterion of party prestige. But whether people give preference to communists in their labor collectives and in their place of residence is perhaps equally important. Let us say straight out: The study materials do not inspire a great deal of optimism on this score. Almost half of the workers, collective farm [kolkhoz] workers, and economic specialists polled assess Communists' prestige as low and only 4 percent reckon that it is high.

A poll of more than 1,000 party workers from municipal, rayon, and primary echelons confirmed the enduring nature of the well-known opinion that party ranks must be cleared of their "inactive members" as an urgent condition for the restoration of party prestige. There are a considerable number of communists who constantly form part of this little-revered group. This does in effect result in the erosion of the party. It would probably be reasonable, while boosting exactingness toward persons joining the party, to rid it at the same time of those people who, to put it mildly, have lost interest in being a member of the party.

It is usually proposed that the holding of individual conversations with Communists should be practised more actively and that their reports should be heard more frequently and likewise that they should undergo certification more often. Naturally, all this may bear considerable fruit. But, in our view, provided only that relations between Communists in the primary organization assume the nature of an exacting party fellowship and businesslike principled cooperation.

According to 39 percent of the working people polled, the prestige of primary party organizations has been

substantially enfeebled. The majority point out that "nothing has changed" here in the years of restructuring. This illustrates the primary party echelon's lag behind the stormy processes under way in society. However, one can also see from press materials that there is clearly not enough coordination between the actions of the CPSU Central Committee and the "grassroots." Conservatism in intraparty relations is also slow to be eradicated.

CRISIS IN WORK STYLE? The pernicious nature of the practice whereby party committees at the top of the socioeconomic management pyramid perform administrative-controlling functions is probably obvious to everyone. However, we are having difficulties in really mastering the new political forms and methods of work and strengthening links between party organizations and working people.

Obviously, success here is determined not so much by the party aktiv's "going out" to the people, as it is often portrayed, as by practically satisfying people's interests with the help of the policy being implemented. A deterioration in the quality of life wounds party prestige and undermines trust in party organizations. Unfortunately, these realities of life are still not always taken into account in practical work.

Perestroyka has opened the floodgates to release accumulated social energy. New strata and groups of people are taking shape, whose interests are coming to the forefront of political life with increasing vigor. The politicization of public consciousness will obviously increase in the future. Changes in the alignment of social forces will intensify. The political structure in Soviet society will grow substantially more complex. Are party organizations, their leading organs, and Communists ready for this?

Let us be frank, until recently no real struggle was waged to capture people's minds. This struggle belonged to textbooks. They mainly related "victories" by the supporters of the general line over the opposition, deviations, and factions. Few people seriously grasped the essence of the former political battles. But, nevertheless, the stereotype of the enemy within has prevailed in the mass consciousness since time immemorial. It was fostered by periodic campaigns against dissenters. A kind of immunity was also developed over a long period to any actions that were not sanctioned from above and that departed from customary political ritual.

But what was the effect on our thinking, behavior, and customs of the age-old practice of replacing political work among the masses with phony substitutes like endless campaigns, unproductive nationwide discussions, and so on? Wide-ranging measures frequently only sapped strength, bewitched minds, and clouded the view of unresolved problems. The point of Communists' work among people is to elevate them to conscious political creative activity. In fact mass political work often reduced them to walk-ons in various measures.

The misinterpreted principle of "drive belts," which became the pseudotheoretical foundation for the political leadership of trade unions, the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, and other public organizations, along with state bodies was also prejudicial to the party. Effectively lacking independence, they lost far more prestige than party organizations. This is shown clearly by sociopolitical studies and events that rocked labor collectives, various regions, and the whole country.

In our view, an undeveloped political approach to work with people was graphically manifested in the party committees' attitude to informal groups and movements. At first they tried to brush them off as unworthy, transient groups. However, these groups did not disintegrate but, on the contrary, grew stronger, politicized themselves, and took an organizational form. Moreover, voices speaking about small informal groups often drowned out the voices of party organizations, yet there are 500,000 of the latter in the country. Why did this happen?

What is the situation like today? The data from sociological studies indicate that often both party committees and so-called informal groups strive equally to monopolize "the right to truth" and take revenge by means of strong-arm pressure on the opposing side. This aggravates the emergent mutual psychological hostility. As a result the social energy of perestroyka is squandered in vain and political passions increase in intensity.

We are admittedly also put on our guard by party committees' palpable underestimation of the intelligentsia's role in perestroyka. They sometimes even pit the intelligentsia against workers and kolkhoz workers. It is no accident that some informal groups have proved to be better equipped intellectually.

The way out of the situation that has developed does not lie in "taming" the elemental forces of the pluralism of opinions which certain apparatus workers are calling for. We already have the sorry experience of hasty administration by decree when we wanted to curb a flood of rallies and demonstrations at a stroke. Switching from confrontation to cooperation is a more fruitful path. This, of course, requires us to overcome the party organization's definite exclusivity and clear the channels for "direct" and "reciprocal" contacts between its leading organs and the population. We need a prompt system of studying public opinion both within the party and outside it, enabling both majority and minority opinions and sentiments to be ascertained at any moment on any question. The main point is to ensure the active involvement of Communists and leading cadres in developing self-management principles for the life of labor collectives, cities, and villages.

The improvements in the extension of glasnost, mentioned by 40 percent of the working people polled are the most marked. But assessments of leaders' level of competence and professionalism are still low. Moreover, the

gulf between words and actions is, according to 46 percent of those polled, not only failing to diminish but is actually increasing.

Analysis of the poll data shows that, in an endeavor to rid themselves of administration by decree and of the supplanting of state and economic organs and public organizations, party organizations often allow the implementation of economic policy together with the development of self-management in labor collectives, work with cadres, and educative work to slide. Monitoring of the fulfillment of the decisions adopted has slackened off and experience of political work via dialogue, which presupposes cooperation with all forces interested in perestroyka, is grasped only with difficulty.

THE PRESTIGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS AT THE CENTER. As is well known, at the elections of USSR people's deputies 1 in 5 out of almost 200 secretaries of the central committees of union republic communist parties, kray and oblast party committees failed to gain a majority. The political climate has changed so drastically that the prestige of the individual rather than the post is highly valued. It was also clear in advance that the deterioration of many socioeconomic and other problems to extreme levels would result in many leaders being denied a vote of confidence.

The situation that took shape over leading workers, particularly party workers, is still extremely contradictory. There has been a sharp increase in people's negative opinions of the party apparatus—this has reached the point where charges have been made of deliberate efforts to retard perestroyka. Thus, for instance, almost two-thirds of those polled spoke disapprovingly of the activity of rayon, city, and oblast party committees. Most of the Communists involved in the poll—73 percent—believe that workers of only middling and even low capabilities and qualities prevail within the party apparatus.

This criticism is by no means objective in every respect. Party cadres are often stigmatized without ceremony. Yet we must consider the specific worker in a specific situation rather than the "apparatus as a whole." There are, of course, many workers in party organs who have no conception of how to work under present conditions. Well, we must get rid of these people and find them work of which they are capable and promote new, enterprising, and militant people in their place... There have always been and are such people within the party. We must talk about this unrelentingly day in day out with people, meeting them not only at standard "political theme days" or "livestock farmer days" but by living the same life with them. There have been few new developments in the mechanism for cooperation between the apparatus and elective party organs, soviets, and various establishments. Finally—and this is perhaps the main thing—party workers still have a poor knowledge and experience in the sphere of "human studies" [chelovekovedeniye], the fundamentals of management science, and modern information technology.

The poll of party cadres demonstrated that almost 80 percent of them are not convinced they will be able to exert proper influence on people in innovative situations. Many people assessed their knowledge and ability to anticipate the course of events as rather low. Most consider it necessary to renew the apparatus, while 1 in 5 advocate a radical change in cadres.

A cardinal improvement in the composition of party cadres and the need to overcome their unpopularity among the population are well-foundedly linked with the destruction of nomination diktat and the broadening of the practice of multiple-candidate election of leaders. Such elections do not constitute a mad effort to keep up with the latest fashion but a means of promoting talented people. This also provides good support in deepening the political substance of cadre work and overcoming the pro forma party-vetted list procedure for forming a reserve "on paper," dispelling the veil of secrecy that has shrouded the appointment of officials for a long time—electiveness reinforces trust in perestroyka.

Experience of introducing elective principles at the same time persuades us that they are not a panacea for the many defects in cadre work. Elections can produce a stable effect if people are selected who are capable of making progress, if their training is organized skillfully, and if public opinion with regard to leadership style is studied systematically. At present this is precisely what is lacking.

There is an urgent need for an in-depth study of cadre policy in every party committee. It is time, for instance, to stop oversaturating the party apparatus with technical specialists since they instill a fair quantity of technocratic elements into political work—which has been mentioned on several occasions. The popular opinion that you can only become a party worker with a higher education in any discipline will not do either. A profound misconception! A political leader vitally needs clear individuality, an analytical mind, thorough knowledge and experience of the art of oratory, and many other things.

Lastly, increasing the CPSU's prestige and implementing its vanguard role in perestroyka require comprehensive scientific backup. However, the party proved most ill-equipped, for instance, with means of conducting sociological analysis of social processes. At the same time various establishments, enterprises, and informal organizations either already have their own sociological services or an opportunity to pay for their services on an economic contractual basis. Practical conclusions must be drawn from this.

This was precisely what was discussed at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy. The participants in this session discussed practical steps to dismantle the pro forma nomenklatura mechanism of cadre policy and advocated the further development and deepening of multiple-candidate principles when filling vacancies in

the cadre corps. The question of preparing a new draft CPSU statute in time for the 28th Congress was also examined. This statute is designed to help renew the party and enshrine everything born of perestroyka that is of value. The task of the day is to comprehensively promote initiative and unity among Communists.

Commission on Tbilisi Holds Final Session

LD1910230589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The parliamentary commission investigating what happened in Tbilisi on 9 April this year has held its final session in Moscow. Sixteen people died when an unsanctioned rally was suppressed in Tbilisi at the time. The commission concluded that in adopting and carrying out the decision to disperse the meeting legislation was seriously violated and that led to the tragic consequences. At the same time the parliamentary body failed to explain clearly what caused the death of those 16 people who are claimed to have been crushed by the crowd.

Earthquake Rocks Tatar AES Construction Site

LD1910110689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Ilyas Latypov, our Kazan correspondent, reports that another earthquake has taken place in the area where the Tatar nuclear electric power station [AES] is being constructed. The previous one, to a force of six [scale not indicated], was registered last April. The standing commission of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet for nature protection and the expedient use of natural resources has adopted a decision to submit the issue of the conflict situation that has arisen around the construction of the Tatar AES to an examination by a regular session of the ASSR Supreme Soviet.

It is well-known that the Tatar public and the republican leadership are coming out against the AES because mistakes were made when the construction site was chosen which could entail a catastrophe. Seismic activity in the region, which is situated on a fault in the Earth's crust, is one of the main arguments. The routine session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet, due to open on 3 November, will make a decision on the issue.

Health Damage from Soviet Nuclear Tests

AU1810141689 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Oct 89 p 4

[Under rubric "NOVOSTI Topical Bulletin," article by Academician Saim Bulmakhanov, deputy director of the Institute of Oncology and Radiology of the Ministry of Health of the Kazakh SSR: "Nuclear Testing Ground: Beneath and Around It"]

[Text] In 1951 I was appointed chief radiologist of the Ministry of Health of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. At that time a series of active experiments with nuclear weapons started near Semipalatinsk, and the military invited us medical men to the tests. We had some opportunity to observe the effects of a conventional nuclear attack and assess the extent of damage to the ground and the individual installations. Prior to each explosion, the inhabitants were moved from the surrounding villages to remote regions in the oblast. Sometimes these evacuations were announced without warning, and the people had to leave their domestic animals behind in their yards. The people reacted calmly to the annoying necessity of compulsory migration, and no one paid any particular attention to reports of unknown illnesses.

On one occasion I was called in to have a chat with the chief physician of the oblast hospital. It transpired that patients had begun to arrive there with strange symptoms: Their nails were unusually fragile, their hair was falling out, and there were cases of skin lesions. The unfamiliar symptoms were similar to the classic signs of the radiation sickness suffered by the Japanese following the nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The inhabitants of the villages of Abralinskiy Rayon (nearest to the testing ground) were the most frequent visitors to the doctors' offices. Several dozen people were examined, and 12 of them were found to need urgent treatment. A special department was set up at the oblast hospital. Attempts were made to treat the unknown disease, and a special diet was arranged. However, no success was achieved. The Soviet doctors had no experience of treating victims of radiation, and information trickled in very rarely from abroad. Soon a special group of scientists from the republic's pathology research institute and experienced general practitioners was formed, with assistance from the Institute of Biophysics of the USSR Ministry of Health. It was decided to carry out a systematic study of the inhabitants. Health checks were carried out on 6,000 people in six rayons. A clear picture gradually emerged of the radiation injury to the population, and the doctors became alarmed. In 1959 the commission's conclusions were reported to the republican central committee and to Moscow. The reaction was unexpected: The group was disbanded, and Dispensary No. 4 of the Third Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health was set up to replace it. Later all information both on the testing ground and on sickness among the inhabitants was classified as secret, while rumors were quickly suppressed. In addition to this, Abralinskiy Rayon was abolished as a territorial administrative unit as early as in 1954, and the inhabitants resettled in other areas.

In 1960 a decree was issued grading Semipalatinsk Oblast as category 1 as regards food supplies and providing for a substantial improvement of health care facilities. In addition, the Ministry of Medium Machine Building was ordered to compensate the inhabitants for losses arising in connection with the activities at the testing ground—such as dead cattle, and so on.

From 1963 the testing ground began to be used only for underground nuclear tests. People were no longer moved away, and they were disturbed only by the clouds of gas occasionally emerging from the ground. Skeptics were mollified with assurances that there was no danger. A statement even appeared defining such "eruptions" as "inert and harmless." This situation continued for a long time. On 12 February 1989, following a routine test, the wind suddenly carried a cloud of such gas to the settlement occupied by the testing staff. The alarm was immediately given, warning of high radiation! A commission of inspection was urgently set up, including representatives from the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health, and other organizations. As V.A. Bukatov, deputy chairman of the commission, announced in an official statement, it was established that the background radiation level on the territory of the testing ground and the oblast did not exceed the average value of naturally occurring radiation. However, the commission recommended a review of the nuclear testing program, with a view to reducing the number of explosions and their strength, imposing more stringent requirements for the design of the testing apparatus, increasing the depth at which the charges were laid, and improving technical monitoring. A special expedition was also working in the oblast on carrying out, together with the local health care organs, a comprehensive study of the state of health of the population and the ecological situation in the region of the testing grounds.

What is the conclusion from all the foregoing? The long period of ignoring the problem has at last given way, and not merely to glasnost and open publication of the facts. Everyone—the military, medical profession, party officials, and the Soviet workers—now agrees on one thing, namely that too many problems have accumulated for them to be solved at a single stroke. Time and considerable efforts will be needed in order to correct the mistakes. A start has already been made on implementing a range of measures aimed at changing the ecological situation in the vicinity of the testing site. The technical facilities of the clinics have also been renewed. However, this is too little. If we pose the problem in a broader context, we will have to admit that it is no longer possible to carry out a nuclear research program purely for the sake of research, and that satisfying even purely scientific interests is proving too expensive for the ordinary members of society. Nonetheless, someone has to be the first to begin to "set aside" such programs. It can boldly be asserted that similar programs exist in all countries that carry out nuclear testing for peaceful or military purposes. Every step that is aimed at cutting nuclear testing programs will be a demonstration of humanity and political prudence.

MVD Official on Transcaucasus Rail Situation

PM1910174089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General of Internal Services V. Yegorov, chief of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of Internal Affairs for Transportation, by correspondent S. Taranov, under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources: Trains Run Under Guard"—date, place not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] On 3 October the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution entitled "On Urgent Measures To Ensure the Uninterrupted Functioning of Railroad Transportation and Basic Sectors of the National Economy." This document demands the adoption of "urgent measures to stop unlawful actions disrupting the operation of transportation." It is primarily a question of restoring order on the Transcaucasus railroads. Lieutenant General of Internal Services V. Yegorov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' [MVD] Main Administration for Transportation, talked about this in an interview granted to IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

[Taranov] Vladimir Demyanovich, the railroads linking Azerbaijan and Armenia have been in turmoil for more than 2 months. On some days, traffic on these routes has stopped entirely. Many IZVESTIYA readers are wondering: How can this happen? After all, the operation of the railroads has always been regarded as belonging to the category of vital state interests....

[Yegorov] The "war on the tracks," as the newspapermen call it, is the result of the protracted interethnic conflict. Recently the opposing forces also have transferred their activity to facilities of particular importance, one of which is rail transport. The sectors of the Azerbaijan and Transcaucasus Railroads from Mindzhevan Station to those of Yeraskh and Kafan have become a kind of front line in USSR MVD and Ministry of Railways reports. The destabilization of freight and passenger shipments reached its peak in July and August. Although traffic has now been restored, the situation remains extremely explosive. Any act of hooliganism, or even an accident, could lead to unpredictable consequences.

But in discussing the causes of the crisis, we should not suggest that one side is the "victim" and the other the "aggressor." Last November in Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon, extremist individuals carried out mass disturbances on the railroad—they wrecked and set fire to station equipment and a railroad store and blocked the permanent way with stones, rubble, and ore in 12 places.

In July-September 1989 there were two explosions on the Karchivan to Megri stretch, and the tracks were blocked with rails, railroad ties, and timber. An inhabitant of Megrinskiy Rayon tried to blow up the permanent way with home-made explosives, injured himself, and died.... There were other, similar instances, too. This was why engineers at the Dzhulfa Station locomotive depot refused to drive the trains.

Extremism on the railroads took on the nature of a chain reaction. Thus on 13 August a railroad bridge on the Agdam to Askeran stage was damaged by an explosive device. A. Akhmedov and E. Mamedov, inhabitants of

Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, were brought to justice for dismantling the track on the Nakhichevan to Bash-Bashi stretch of track. People who threw stones at a passenger train on the Sheyflyu to Mindzhevan stretch were also identified. A number of criminal charges have been brought against people from Kirovabad, Bardinskiy, and Agdamskiy Rayons who hampered the movement of trains. Several criminal groups who were misappropriating freight destined for Armenia have been unmasked. The prosecutor's office has given official warnings to 50 citizens working at Shirvan, Lenkoran, Norashen, and Kirovabad stations and members of strike committees at the locomotive depots at Baladzher, Dzhulfa, Mindzhevan....

[Taranov] You are listing individual cases. But the railroad was out of action for more than 2 months, and it was not only people involved in the interethnic conflict who suffered. Was it not possible to adopt more resolute measures and stop the unlawful actions promptly?

[Yegorov] It must be admitted that we had no experience of acting in an emergency caused by interethnic conflicts, which occurred for the first time at transportation facilities. A part was also played by lack of coordination, the tendency to avoid tackling urgent problems, and often the outright connivance of the local law enforcement organs. But that is not the main point.

The reasons for the destabilization are purely political in nature. They cannot be overcome by strongarm methods. After all, the conflict involves many thousands of people, including women and children.

But it is equally true that the railroad cannot be a bargaining chip in solving interethnic disputes. You can only respond to lawlessness and violence by force backed up by law. What I have said is not an ultimatum to the extremists, but a reminder of the elementary principle of state life. All who are guilty of unlawful actions, regardless of nationality, should suffer the punishment they deserve.

Dozens of militia officers and prosecutor's office investigators have now been sent to the two republics to help investigate the crimes. A USSR MVD investigative operations group has been set up. Those who have been sent in on this mission have no emergency powers, nor do the subunits of internal troops.

[Taranov] How is freight protected on the railroad? Is there a guarantee of safety for passengers and for the railwaymen themselves?

[Yegorov] Operations groups of militia staffers—both from territorial militia organs and from our main administration—are on duty around the clock at all the key stations. Patrolling along the railroads has been stepped up. Every locomotive is accompanied by two militiamen and two soldiers of the internal troops. Militia staffers are on duty on all passenger trains running between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Freight arriving in Azerbaijan via the Transcaucasian Railroad and in Armenia from Azerbaijan is checked for damage and theft. To be fair, I should note that it is not only in the Transcaucasus that freight cars are robbed. Because of transport bottlenecks, trains are left standing where they never used to stand, where there are no conditions for effective protection. Thieves take advantage of this. On just 1 day, 18 October, the transport militia, together with the railwaymen, compiled 52 commercial documents testifying to thefts outside Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Taranov] A law on transport will be adopted soon. What would you propose to those who are drawing it up?

[Yegorov] The events of recent months show that the system of management of internal affairs organs for transportation must be improved. They should form a strictly centralized system with a vertical chain of command leading directly to the the USSR MVD. The idea of a specific contingent of internal troops specializing in transport should also be examined, and the personal (including material) accountability of leaders for the uninterrupted operation of transport should be increased.

Monitoring of NKAO Blockade Situation Continues

'Situation Remains Complex'

PM2010085689 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Rudenko report for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Worrying Days for Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert—The special situation has been in force in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Agdamskiy Rayon of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic for more than 18 months now. And it often happens that even the ordinary problems of everyday life here have to be resolved with the help of troops. To see this you only have to glance at the log of applications made to the commandant's office. Here are just a few of the entries.

"...Citizen G. from Martuninskiy Rayon asks assistance in traveling to Krasnodar Kray with his wife to attend the funeral of a close relative."

The paragraph in the log concerning the action taken notes: "Included in a convoy, sent on an infantry combat vehicle."

"...Citizen V. from Stepanakert reports the need to transport a seriously ill child to Yerevan."

The child, accompanied by doctors, was flown out that same day by military helicopter...

"The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains complex," Colonel V. Skorobogatov, chief of the special district political department, believes. "The outbreak of interethnic strife destroyed the peaceful current of life and

exacerbated relations between the two peoples. In these conditions people see the commandant's office as a real force capable, under the leadership of the Special Administration Committee, of achieving what the local authorities cannot do. It is no accident that a significant proportion of the mail consists of requests to help with the organization of housing exchanges, the transportation of household effects from one settlement to another, and the receipt of pensions. There are many applications for job placement and requests to petition the rayon and city soviets for material aid for the families of refugees...

Economic problems connected with vital services for the blockaded oblast also demand attention: the delivery of food and medical supplies, the supply of fuel and lubricants for the national economy. All the same, the main task for military subunits in the special district is to prevent clashes on interethnic grounds and maintain public order. Every serviceman—soldier or officer—bears an enormous responsibility. People not infrequently go without sleep for 24 hours at a time and live on dry rations, while many are living in tents in these autumn days. But the servicemen understand that this is necessary in order to protect the peace and life of women, children, and old people.

Every day the commandant's office of the special district receives dozens of telephone alarm calls: A car is fired on, stones are thrown at a truck column, a barrier is erected across a road, an aggressive crowd assembles on the outskirts of a settlement... The headquarters workers respond immediately to every alarm. They make radio contact with sector commandants and unit commanders, send out mechanized patrols and details, and send helicopters up. Everything possible is done to intervene in good time between the parties that are ready to clash, to intercept the hand raised for the blow...

The internal troops commandant's office set up in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Agdamskiy Rayon has become the reliable defender of the lives and safety of citizens of both nationalities in the conditions of continuing interethnic conflict. But the special situation is a temporary measure. You cannot reconcile two peoples by force—they themselves must reach mutual understanding.

Agriculture Harmed by Blockade

NC2010102189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Although vegetables and fruit were produced in large quantities in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] this year, they have remained unharvested. The residents of the oblast's capital are unable to benefit from this bounty because roads leading into the oblast as well as those within the oblast are still blockaded. Almost all roads in more or less good condition pass through Azeri villages and cities; that is, through dangerous zones.

The situation is further aggravated by the shortage of fuel. In addition, animals are starving because hay cannot be brought to the farms and no feed is not coming in from outside.

Armenian Weekly Comments on Stepanakert Incident

NC2010151789 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 19 Oct 89

[From the review of HAYRENIKI DZAYN] [Excerpts] Under the headline "Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] Condemns," HAYRENIKI DZAYN weekly has published a report by an ARMENPRES reporter in Stepanakert. The report notes that a justified wave of protest surfaced in the NKAO in connection with the tragic incident that took place in Stepanakert on 10 October. For the first time during the Artsakhian movement, an Armenian was martyred in Artsakh at the hands of army servicemen. He was Spartak Agopyan, a father of four.

People are demanding the identification and severe punishment of the organizers and executors of this provocative action, which the people here believe was intended to further destabilize the situation in the region and thus postpone any political solution of the Artsakh problem.

Thousands of Stepanakert students along with their parents and teachers staged a protest meeting on 12 October at the Victory Square.

That same evening, Major General Safonov, commandant of the Special Military District, and Colonel Tumanyants, head of the administration of the internal affairs department of the NKAO, explained the incident on oblast television.

The residents of Stepanakert have termed 10 October bloody Tuesday. On 13 October the whole city turned out for the funeral of Spartak Agopyan.

The participants in the solemn meeting condemned this provocative act and reiterated that no anti-Karabakh act could subjugate Artsakh because the people are firm in their resolve to continue struggling for their freedom. [passage omitted]

Under the headline "Further Evidence of the Infamous Act," the weekly has published an article by political commentator Agop Agopyan. He clearly demonstrates the anti-Armenian, avaricious, and aggressive nature of the 16 March 1921 Soviet-Turkish treaty. The author concludes by saying that there are no legal, political, or [word indistinct] grounds for accepting the legality of that treaty. It was an entirely illegal, infamous, and shameful act at the expense of the Armenian people which must now, 68 years later, be exposed, condemned, politically assessed, unequivocally renounced, and declared to be no longer in force by the Soviet Government. This means that the territorial decisions based on

this treaty, including the transfer of Nakhichevan to Azerbaijan, must be declared null and void. [passage omitted]

Shatalin Discusses Shooting Incident

PM1910205089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, chief of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops, by unnamed correspondent, under the rubric "Authoritative Opinion": "Incident Near Stepanakart"—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Rumors are circulating rapidly in Nagorno-Karabakh and elsewhere about the unprovoked opening of fire by servicemen of the internal troops on a group of Armenian inhabitants, resulting in casualties, which supposedly took place on 10 October. These rumors have led to a new wave of extremist actions.

What did happen that day? Our correspondent put this question to Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops. This is his reply:

[Shatalin] On 10 October a truck column was transporting students from the USSR MVD Sverdlovsk Firefighting Technical School from Shusha to Kirovabad. At 2145, when the column was approaching Stepanakert, a group of people barred the road. Some of them were armed. Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Zhirov and Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Maskov, as the official investigation reveals, approached the assembled people, explained that the column was transporting a public order protection subunit, and asked them to show restraint. However, stones were thrown at the trucks. Then rifle fire opened. A sector of the highway approximately 1.5 km long was in the firing zone.

Taking into account the fact that the students' lives were in danger, the real extent of which was difficult to assess in the darkness, the column guard used weapons. Many warning shots were fired overhead, which, however, did not have the effect of sobering people up. Weapons were then used for the purpose of directly repelling attack.

A few hours later, six injured people arrived at the oblast hospital. One died during the night. Four physicians, officers in the internal troops, were sent to the hospital to give medical assistance to the injured parties and obtain information about the nature of the injuries. However, they were beaten up and taken hostage by a crowd of extremists. A special-purpose company had to be used to free the officers.

Is the column guard to blame for the incident? The answer will be provided by the investigation being carried out by law enforcement organs. But it is already clear today that they did not exceed their rights. Nonetheless we express sincere condolences to the injured parties and the relatives of the dead man, sharing their grief and distress at what happened.

I must say that the servicemen's actions are to some degree affected by the tension in the general atmosphere. On 28 September an attack took place in the region of the settlement of Yeraskh, involving the use of firearms against a group of officers who were checking on the duties of troop details. As a result, 17 bullet holes were found in the car. On 8 October a truck delivering food to patrols came under fire in the settlement of Yengitar. On 15 October a troop detail was fired on in the settlement of Gadzhilar, on 16 October a checkpoint near the village of Khoznavor, on 17 October a troop detail in Dzhagazur....

Armenian Resolution on Socioeconomic Ills

PM1910141789 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 26 Sep 89 p 3

["Resolution of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet" dated Yerevan, 23 September 1989: "Report by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers on its Activity and the Program for Extricating the Republic from the Crisis"]

[Text] The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resolves the following:

1. It notes that an extremely tense economic situation prevails in the republic, despite the fact that certain economic and social development has been achieved during the 12th 5-Year Plan period so far.

The republic's Council of Ministers is taking measures to fulfill annual plans and meet the 12th 5-Year Plan targets, in particular as regards the comprehensive development of cities and rayons which suffered as a result of the earthquake.

2. In view of the vital importance attaching to the prompt commissioning of housing and social and cultural facilities in the disaster zone, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is instructed to resolutely step up its work on coordinating the activity of union republic councils of ministers and of USSR ministries and departments on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR and on mobilizing their efforts to meet targets for the construction of these projects, and to institute systematic monitoring in order to ensure the commissioning of housing, general education schools, preschool and medical institutions, and other projects.

3. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers must be more exacting as regards the responsibility of leaders of republic ministries and departments, of enterprises and associations under union jurisdiction located on the Armenian SSR's territory, and of rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] and gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] chairmen for the radical enhancement of labor and executive discipline for

ensuring the fulfillment of contract commitments for the delivery of output, state orders, and labor productivity growth indicators; for strict observance of the taxation method being introduced in October this year to regulate enterprises' funds channeled into labor remuneration; and for improving the utilization of existing production capacities, accelerating scientific and technical progress, maximizing resource saving, and accelerating the transition of enterprises and organizations to multishift working in order to solve the questions of employment for the population of cities and rayons in the disaster zone and for refugees.

4. Armenian SSR ministries and departments, leaders of enterprises and associations under union jurisdiction located on the republic's territories, and rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms are instructed to conduct large-scale work on mobilizing all potential for boosting consumer goods manufacture and the volume of the sale of paid services to the population, with attention being paid to the full utilization of existing production capacities.

5. The Armenian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee [Gosagroprom] and local ispolkoms [executive committees] are instructed, in compliance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, the first Congress of People's Deputies, and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee July (1989) Plenum on urgent measures for the improvement of food supplies for the population, to ensure the consistent transition of collective and state farms and other agro-industrial complex enterprises to the principles of economic accountability and self-financing and to create an interlinked system of prices for agro-industrial complex produce which would encourage all its components to aim for good end results.

6. The Armenian SSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the Armenian SSR Gosagroprom, agroindustrial complex ministries and departments, and local ispolkoms must elaborate by the end of 1989 a program for the radical improvement of social, cultural, and everyday service conditions for the rural population, especially in the disaster zone, and must submit it for nationwide discussion.

7. The Armenian SSR Gosplan, the Armenian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the republic's ministries and departments, enterprises and associations under union jurisdiction, and rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms must continue the work to ensure the improvement of the ecological situation in the cities of Yerevan, Ararat, and Razdan by better technology and the production of ecologically clean output and by improving the work of existing enterprises in this field. Immediate measures must be taken to ensure better deployment and amalgamation of motor vehicle pools, to regulate operations by both state and individual motor transport, to accelerate the construction of the second stage of the subway, and to implement a package of measures for switching motor transport from petroleum fuel to gas fuel.

8. The Armenian SSR Ministry of Transport, the Yerevan Department of the Transcaucasus Railroad, the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration, and rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms must stabilize and radically improve operations by all categories of transport, ensure prompt transportation of national economic freight and passengers with strict observance of schedules, improve the technical condition of means of transportation and the labor discipline of service personnel, and ensure accident-free operations.

9. The Armenian SSR Gosplan, the Armenian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, and the Armenian SSR Gosagroprom, jointly with rayispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and the Armenian SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, must—on the basis of results of the 5-year plan's fulfillment and the meeting of targets for the construction and repairs of housing stock damaged in the earthquake—amend the "Comprehensive Targeted Program for the Solution of the Housing Problem in the Armenian SSR" ratified by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 840 dated 15 December 1987 and resubmit it for national discussion.

10. When finalizing the Armenian SSR's draft state plan for economic and social development and state budget for 1990, the Armenian SSR Gosplan and the Armenian SSR Ministry of Finance must outline the ways and means for solving the most important tasks facing the republic, and specifically: Ensuring that all work associated with reviving the national economy which was devastated by the natural disaster is completed on schedule; improving the socioeconomic situation and ensuring the financial recovery of the republic's economy, and creating material and economic prerequisites for the economy's development during the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

11. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is instructed to complete the elaboration of the draft Law on the Armenian SSR's Economic Autonomy, publish it for national discussion, and submit it for examination by a session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

12. Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions are instructed to elaborate jointly with the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and submit for examination by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet by 1 July 1990 the legislative acts necessary to implement the principles of the Armenian SSR's economic autonomy.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and permanent commissions must prepare and submit proposals on the introduction of amendments to the Armenian SSR Constitution and other legislative acts in line with any changes stemming from the Armenian SSR Law on the Armenian SSR's Economic Autonomy.

13. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is instructed to elaborate an organizational-economic program ensuring the republic's transition to full economic accountability on the basis of economic autonomy as of 1 January 1991.

14. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers must elaborate an emergency program for the republic's extrication from the crisis, widely involving in its elaboration the scientific and technical intelligentsia and representatives of public organizations.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Committee for Cultural Ties with Armenians Abroad must appeal to the Armenian diaspora and its social organizations and business circles for help in the elaboration of a national program for the republic's extrication from the crisis and in the program's implementation.

16. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet again voices a resolute protest against the continuing blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and demands that the country's top leadership take immediate measures to lift the blockade, ensuring political, legal, and administrative guarantees that blockades and any similar phenomena shall be completely ruled out in the future.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet calls on the Supreme Soviets of all republics in the Soviet Union to condemn the blockade of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh by the Azerbaijan SSR and to demand that it be lifted immediately.

17. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, taking into account the great need for manpower to carry out construction and repair work in the disaster zone in the next few years, believes that Armenian young people must perform their military service in military construction subunits stationed in the republic and calls on the USSR Ministry of Defense to concentrate the contingent of the republic's draftees called up in 1989-1992 in such subunits and to deploy them in the disaster zone.

18. Following examination by the appropriate organizations, the Regulations on the Commission for Coordinating and Monitoring Restoration Work in the Earthquake Zone should be submitted for ratification by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

19. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is instructed to study the proposals and remarks made by deputies at the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session and adopt the relevant decisions.

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Georgia's Gumbaridze Interviewed on Military

PM1910152389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and Colonel General V.A. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy under the rubric "Topical Dialogue": "Bridges of Trust"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kaushanskiy] To begin with, please tell KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers about yourselves.

[Gumbaridze] I was born in 1945. I am a native of Tbilisi. My father was a colonel, a party member since 1918. At various times he headed the political departments of divisions, including the Georgian Division. My father died 4 years ago. My mother, Anna Sardionovna, is a housewife.

I served in the Soviet Army after graduating from Tbilisi State University. So I know at firsthand the life of a military man. Discipline, patriotism, and a strong stance in life, which are so characteristic of military people, were always honored in my family.

I was discharged into the reserves and began working as a scientific associate at the Central State Archives of the Georgian Council of Ministers Main Archive Administration. Next I worked on the apparatus of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. Then came party work with its very difficult steps, from agent to head of Georgian Communist Party Central Committee departments. I also got to work as first secretary of a rayon party committee, and in the spring of 1988 I headed Tbilisi City party committee. The next stage—for just a few months—was as chairman of the republic KGB. And, finally, my present post.

I am a USSR people's deputy. My wife and I are raising a son. Incidentally, during his higher educational institution [VUZ] studies he was drafted into the Army. He served 2 years and returned to his student desk. This is enough, I hope?

[Patrikeyev] I was born in Tambov Oblast, in an ancient Russian village, in 1938. There were four of us left after my father died: Mama—she was my village teacher—my elder brother, my sister, and I, the youngest. My brother went off to war, and we, together with everyone in the village, endured the hard times of war. I graduated from military school with distinction in 1958. My service ranged from the westernmost to the easternmost borders of the country. I did not miss a single official step—from platoon commander to army commander and district chief of staff. I graduated with gold medals from the M.V. Frunze Academy and the General Staff Military Academy.

In 1985 I became commander of the Volga Military District. And now I am serving in the Transcaucasus. My son is an officer, a battalion chief of staff in the Baltic

Military District. My daughter is a student and is graduating from Kuybyshev University. I became a grandfather a year ago. My grandson, like my son, is named Valeriy. So there is an entire dynasty of us.

[Kaushanskiy] The well-known events in Tbilisi undoubtedly created tension in the traditionally good relations between the republic's population and people wearing Army shoulder boards. It is bitter to speak of this, but such is reality: 9 April was a watershed. And clearly there is nothing more important than to find joint bases for restoring trust and the sense of friendship, rejecting some things as obsolete and extraneous but also acquiring some things on the path of perestroyka. What do you see as these bases against the background of aggravated interethnic relations in the country?

[Gumbaridze] I believe that these bases must be sought in the very attitude of Georgians toward military labor. For the grapevine and the sword in our historical symbolism attest to the indivisibility of the honor and respect which surround the serviceman-defender and the person who devotes himself utterly to the land. Take any Georgian village and any rayon from which people have gone off to fight, and in every one you will see memorials to the fallen. With what palpitation both old men and boys approach them. This feeling is fostered within the family.

And how could it be otherwise, when the roots of our joint history are so intertwined? Precisely 18 Georgian generals covered themselves with unfading glory in the 1812 Patriotic War. First in that constellation was General Petr Bagration. The renowned Georgian poet and general Aleksandr Chavchavadze also entered Paris together with Barclay de Tolly. In the Great Patriotic War 48 Georgian generals and 6 Georgian admirals fought side by side with the motherland's other defenders. They were all—both general and private—children of the same small Georgia. And did death notices bypass the yards of my native Tbilisi when we were drawn into the war in Afghanistan?

This is why 9 April caused such pain in the heart of Georgia. It would seem that the chief basis of our friendship was shaken. I have already given my assessment of that tragic event at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. I will only repeat that very many unforgivable mistakes were made both at the time of adopting the decision and in its fulfillment. We do not have the right to shift onto the Army's shoulders political problems which we have failed to resolve, to resort to troop assistance, whatever radical slogans are advanced, or to talk with the people from behind tanks and armored personnel carriers.

It is sufficient to recall how difficult and tense a situation has taken shape in certain parts of the republic, such as Abkhazia and Kvemo Kartli. Through the efforts of party, soviet, and administrative organs everything has been done to prevent attempts by certain elements to exacerbate the situation and to kindle interethnic strife. I consider it important that we have not resorted to Army assistance. Perestroyka and the gamble on force are mutually exclusive concepts. But it is vitally necessary to restore trust. Our children will not forgive us a different approach.

This must certainly not be done with the help of slogans. We hope for constructive collective work between Army Communists and the republic's party and soviet organs. And this is precisely in the context of the requirements of the September plenum of the party's Central Committee, which emphasized the tremendous significance of the stance of party members in resolving interethnic problems.

[Patrikeyev] The thesis aired at the Congress of People's Deputies that the Army must tackle its own affairs arouses doubt in no one today. The pain of the Tbilisi tragedy reverberates in my heart, too. I am sure that the Law on the Defense of the USSR, which is being drawn up, will enshrine once and for all the unified task of the military man, which is indivisible for all time: to defend the motherland against external enemies.

But this is what I would like to say in the context of the question asked and in that of your words, Givi Grigoryevich. The edict-administrative system of the management of society, which we all anathematize today, figuratively speaking, right from the start placed delayed-action mines beneath many nuances of the relationship between the Army and the people. Some decisions adopted within its rigid and sometimes even cruel framework proved extremely painful. For someone hit upon the idea, let us say, of siting an artillery firing range in the region of an ancient Georgian masterpiece—the David-Garedzha Monastery—failing to perceive that as elementary bad manners. One stroke of the pen—and we had to spend more than 40 years elucidating attitudes: The people appeared in the role of suppliant trying to prove that the frescoes and walls would not stand up to a cannonade but fall into disrepair, while the Army appeared in the role of an intractable master from whom you would not get snow even in winter. But in this we all suffered losses, since the culture of the people is our indivisible property.

The epic with the monastery, which, fortunately, had a happy ending, is just one example of the constructive contacts between the Army and the public. But how many knots still remain tied. I am profoundly convinced that there cannot be a search for the bases of good-neighborly relations without clear-cut regard and respect for the national, ecological, demographic, and other factors of the union republics on whose territory military districts, including our Transcaucasus Military District, are located. Otherwise everything will just remain at the level of declarations about the friendship of the peoples. In short, on this question I am ready, as the commander, for the closest cooperation with local organs and the public in the spirit of the September plenum decisions. Particularly as we have a joint action program in the social sphere. Mutual understanding has been found on

questions such as providing officers and ensigns with housing and improving the supply of foodstuffs in everyday demand to residents of military camps, in studying the Georgian language, history, and literature, and in finding employment for wives of officers and ensigns. Of course, there are still plenty of problems on this path, but a start has already been made.

[Kaushanskiy] So, the common denominators are clear. And one of these is the fact that artificial declarativeness is alien to true unity between the Army and the people. Labor of the soul and daily hard work on young people's military-patriotic education are needed here. How do you assess its state today, what alarms you, and what pleases you? And—let us put it like this—what lies ahead?

[Gumbaridze] First, about what alarms me. It is the falling prestige of the military profession. I will not hide the fact that there are still few young men in the republic who express a wish to enter higher military schools. And yet perestroyka is drawing into its orbit the most acute questions of glasnost and democratization in the Armed Forces.

But I must not keep quiet about something else either: Sometimes the realities of Army life themselves provide grounds for negative assessments and undermine the prestige and authority of military service. Such a shameful phenomenon as bullying continues to disturb many barracks and—which is most alarming in my view—is transferring increasingly palpably to the sphere of interethnic relations. Is this not the reason why this year we have quite a shortfall in people wishing to enter military schools? In short, there is something to think about.

True, there has been something of an increase in the number of young men who have replenished military schools through noncompetitive selection. Last year three times as many inhabitants of indigenous nationalities were admitted to them as in 1981. Today more than 3,000 of our guys are studying in military VUZ's. We also pin hopes on the specialized boarding school named for Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General Konstantin Leselidze. Concern for the training of officer cadres has always been in the traditions of the Georgian people.

You ask what lies ahead. It is what we ourselves will put into the program of our joint efforts with Army Communists. This program has already been created and is, in my view, very interesting and promising. Its provisions are clearly formulated in the comprehensive plan for the military-patriotic education of Georgia's working people and young people for this year and next year. Substantial additions to this plan were adopted at a recent Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session.

[Kaushanskiy] Could you comment very concisely on this program?

[Gumbaridze] The rejection of overregimentation, of the old cliches and stereotypes, and of the wholesale approach to assessing results, reliance on individual work with draftees, the involvement in it of all components of party and soviet workers, from rayon to republic level, of ministries and departments, the creative intelligentsia, military commisariats, units, and subunits. It is hardly expedient to enumerate specific measures—there are many of them. But I will mention something.

Two years ago we had an excellent rally of soldiers' mothers. It has now been decided to organize a republic council of soldiers' mothers. This is already a powerful force. We have deemed it expedient to send delegations from the republic's cities and rayons to troop units in which young men from the Georgian SSR serve in order to establish permanent military-patronal ties. The benefit from this is obvious: Our emissaries will give assistance in filling soldiers' libraries with literature and periodicals in their native language, in equipping Lenin rooms, and in fitting out subunits with sports equipment. Both our draftees and, of course, their new friends will be pleased. As a result, the whole business of military-patriotic and international education will benefit.

[Kaushanskiy] Excuse me for interrupting, Givi Grigoryevich, but I must say that the work of these delegations in units and subunits elicits a very amicable response. This is borne out by letters to the editors from the districts which the republic's representatives have visited.

[Gumbaridze] Thank you. And there is another good tradition: Comrades from the party, soviet, and Lenin Communist Youth League aktiv will accompany teams of draftees to their place of service. It is better to see a thing just once [than hear about it a thousand times], as the saying goes. This means new meetings and a reduction in the time young men take to adapt to Army conditions. In short, we wish to be kept constantly posted about our emissaries' concerns and to help them where necessary. We would like to see our military comrades with a greater interest in expanding such contacts, would we not, Valeriy Anisimovich?

[Patrikeyev] This is what I thought about while listening to you, Givi Grigoryevich. Before coming to Georgia, I decided to go in for self-education: to read historical literature about the joint service of Russian and Georgian officers in the Caucasus—interesting and very instructive material—and about the worth, for example, of the Caucasian branch of the Russian Technical Society, which concentrated within itself the flower of the officer corps. How much good did military engineers do for Georgia. They built roads and bridges, created projects for irrigation canals, opened technical schools in Tiflis, did not consider it beneath them to read lectures to children, and carried out great educational work, including publishing a journal.

Those people resembled zealots, for whom unity with the people was something natural, conditioned by an inner need, and a measure of good upbringing. They were hardly familiar with the concept of "military-patriotic education." No one asked them to be accountable for the measures implemented. Russian officers defended the homeland together with Georgians and together saw to the flowering of the economy of the Caucasus. This is how I see this work, as coming from the soul, from awareness of one's duty and responsibility. Courses for the study of the Georgian language have begun opening up in our district. A gratifying phenomenon. Language is the path to culture, to knowledge of traditions, customs, and history. I know commanders who, without waiting for any orders, write letters to the parents of soldiers from Georgia, asking to be told in greater detail about the customs and festivals of the Georgian people.

Or take a recent example. A fair prepared by military trade workers and the local rural authorities was held in one of the district's garrisons. Guests even went into the barracks and saw how soldiers live, including those drafted from the republic, and listened to a concert by amateur artistes. And, pleased with each other, they agreed to meet regularly. And again no orders or commands were needed.

On the other hand, there are already many instances of good cooperation and initiatives stemming from Tbilisi's Zavodskoy and Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon party committees, which have organized a cycle of meetings between servicemen and representatives of workers and the intelligentsia. I believe that we must more vigorously undertake joint actions and carry out research work into perpetuating the memory of the defenders of the Caucasus and restoring and preserving Georgia's historical monuments. Here we reckon very much on the assistance of Georgian "afgantsy" servicemen. In short, the dialogue must embrace all levels of the population—young people, veterans, and representatives of the scientific public and of creative unions. For it is clear that without a dialogue a red light stands in the way of consolidation.

[Kaushanskiy] And yet, when you analyze the situation with regard to the state of military-patriotic education, you see how many blank rounds there still are in it. This summer, for example, there were conflicts with commanders during student camp courses, pacifist and even antiwar slogans were proclaimed at numerous rallies of informals, and there were attempts to organize hunger strikes at draft centers.

[Gumbaridze] I agree that in certain cases young people select only extremely radical means from the whole range of democratic means. This is to be observed practically all over the country. But we are making a huge mistake in our ideological work if we try to draw practical conclusions only on the basis of these slogans, which are frequently ascribed to the entire people. It seems to me that many people, including journalists—may our esteemed correspondent not take offense—underestimate the tremendous significance of a truthful, considered word, particularly when this concerns questions of interethnic relations or relations between the Army and the people.

How is it possible to make one's own inferences and draw far-reaching conclusions for homilies and edification on the basis of the actions or slogans of individuals? In this, concepts such as the people's history, their national character, and their way of life are sometimes ignored. I am profoundly convinced that the actions of the mass media must remove tension in interethnic relations, not deepen it. In difficult situations society should not continue to be divided up into so-called formals and informals. For example, if you raise the question of service in your own republic, this means you are branded an informal. This is far simpler than investigating the roots and causes of this mass movement among young people. I am against such an artificial division into friends and enemies of perestroyka.

Society must be united and strive for a single goal on the basis of respect and regard for different opinions and different positions. You must not artificially separate people on both sides of the barricades, making excessive categorical divisions and displaying stubbornness and reluctance to forgo obsolete stereotypes. Young people react to this in a particularly unhealthy way, including by drawing arguments from the arsenal of radicalism. This is why the path to the consolidation of forces and the restoration of trust lies through tolerance, respect for moral laws, and a balanced and objective tone in newspaper articles.

Let certain excessively radical opinions and appeals not frighten us and push us into drastic antidemocratic measures. Perestroyka is a period of nonstandard solutions in nonstandard situations, and any ordinariness of conclusions leads to an impasse, particularly in a period of intensifying interethnic relations.

[Patrikeyev] We are increasingly frequently encountering representatives of so-called informals in barracks. As a rule, these are people clothed in the armor of prejudice and educated in the traditions of "rally democracy." But, on getting to know the realities of Army service and its lofty essence and on making friends, yesterday's quarrelsome and uncompromising young men become excellent soldiers and acquit themselves no worse than others on the training fields.

The harm of mutual one-dimensionality of views and many troubles stem from the population's lack of information about Army affairs and the Army's lack of information about the population's affairs. We must constantly know about the progress of perestroyka in the region and its development prospects, exchange information more frequently, and meet more frequently on a good basis. And the republic's inhabitants must know about the rescuing of children by the district's helicopter servicemen at the time of the flood in western Georgia, about the participation of servicemen in gathering the

harvest, and about the service of fellow countrymen. Transcaucasus servicemen were the first to extend the hand of friendship to the people of Svanetia when the elements seemed to have brought thousands of people to the verge of death. They were also the first in the earthquake zone in Armenia, and they evacuated casualties and pulled the living and the dead from beneath the rubble, forgetting the threat to their own lives.

Today, when the whole republic is assisting Adzharia, which has been hit by the elements, we military people are also involved in fulfilling the program of measures drawn up by the leadership. We will help with both manpower and equipment. This is how it was, and this is how it will always be.

[Kaushanskiy] When you study the military aspects of the programs of the people's fronts in certain union republics and their leaders' speeches, you continually encounter a demand to build the Army according to the territorial principle, that is, to have their "own" barracks in the republics. What is your position on this complex question?

[Gumbaridze] It must be clearly realized that this question does not exist by itself. It is an organic part of the draft concept of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, published by the republic press, in the sphere of national development and, therefore, also of problems connected with the republic's acquisition of real political and economic sovereignty. As I said at the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum, the draft proceeds from the republic's special features and is underpinned by the rich experience of its national-state development with due regard for the most diverse political, economic, and other factors, including the way of life and the special features of the regions of Georgia. And account must be taken here of the fact that its history is the history of the struggle for national independence. This is why the profession of serviceman has always been for Georgians no less honorable and necessary than the profession of farmer. The existence of national formations on the republic's territory has been both a military and a psychological factor and, if you like, an educational one, raising the people's patriotic spirit. So it is certainly not a question of every village having to have its own army.

In the Central Committee Bureau we approved the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on forwarding to the commission for drawing up the republic's constitution, the questions of reinstating national military formations whose contribution to achieving our joint victory over the enemy during the war years is well known, and on the performance of military service on Georgian SSR territory by the republic's draftees.

It is necessary to take into account and weigh up a great deal here, without succumbing to emotion. And yet, by the way, human emotions are frequently aroused by the public's alarm and concern at incessant cases of nonregulation relations, as a result of which draftees from Georgia also suffer. Sad though it may be, death notices come to us on this basis today, and their numbers are, unfortunately, increasing. And people are dying not in a war, not for the motherland, but because of barrack hooliganism.

Many positive changes are in evidence today. Above all, there is the decision of the USSR Ministry of Defense to considerably increase the contingent of draftees performing military service within the republic and the Transcaucasus Military District. The public greeted with approval the USSR Supreme Soviet decision to release VUZ students from military service and to return them to the lecture halls before the start of the academic year. We also reckon that the majority of draftees will be sent to "named" Army and Navy formations—to the ships "Krasnyy Kavkaz" and "Komsomolets Gruzii" and the Krasnodarskaya Red Banner Orders of Kutuzov and Red Star Motorized Rifle Division named for the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet. About this division, by the way—at a recent meeting with its leadership the opinion was expressed that the combined unit which bears the name of the republic's parliament should be manned to a considerable extent by young men from Georgia. Then both contacts and ties with the division would be stronger, and it would also be far simpler and more efficient to resolve the many educational tasks and the questions that arise through joint efforts. But, I repeat, the problem requires detailed regard for all the factors: economic, demographic, political, social, and historical.

[Patrikeyev] As a father, I can understand the desire of a certain section of parents to have a soldier son close to their hearth (and, incidentally, we leave married draftees in the republic). But, as a commander obliged to assess the situation soberly, I see no real basis for every draftee—and, I emphasize, not only in Georgia—to remain at home to serve. I, too, advocate taking all factors into account as a package. And I do not think that isolation in the age of the integration processes occurring in the world will benefit young people, even against a background of growing national awareness.

The modern army is a very intricate scientific and technical complex with its own conceptual apparatus, specific terminology, and code of commands. Here even the tiniest component has its own name. Just try translating all this into the languages of the union republics, and you will end up with a verbal tangle in an emergency situation. This must not be disregarded. Consequently, the language base must remain unified.

Or take the factor of the acute demographic shortage, which is manifested particularly sharply in the Far Eastern and northern parts of the country. For, while serving in the Far East, I met many soldiers and sergeants from Georgia. They were strong-willed, courageous boys, real professionals. Many returned home as full holders of insignia of soldierly valor. To tell the truth, I did not see any grumblers among them.

I have merely outlined a far from complete list of the problems that lie on the surface. But I could also cross over into the sphere of specific details relating directly to Georgia and our district. The republic trains draftees in 11 military specialties, all the district's training subunits provide a further 70, and the center trains something on the order of 250 for us. In all, just over 330. But the average requirement for the district is to have representatives of 800-900 different specialties. This is only with regard to the Ground Forces, and we are talking only of soldiers and sergeants serving the normal period of service. But the remaining categories of troops? At the same time account must be taken of the training of officers and ensigns. How many military schools must be created in Georgia to ensure that the requirements coincide with the possibilities? It is, of course, possible to campaign for national formations, recalling their weighty contribution to our common victory in the Great Patriotic War. It is possible to count up with pencil in hand the percentage of young men who could be left at home to perform their service without harming the cause of the country's defense. It is also possible to discuss the optimum option for manning named units with soldiers of the indigenous nationality. A balanced and realistic approach must be taken to any alternative. But my personal opinion with regard to the main, fundamental point is unambiguous: Today we need an international army essentially built on the extraterritorial principle.

[Kaushanskiy] What would you like to wish one another?

[Gumbaridze] To feel and understand the warmth of Georgia and the character and aspirations of its people, both as commander and simply as a person. This is a good basis for our joint work.

[Patrikeyev] I accept the wish. I proceed from the premise that you grasp the people's aspirations in contacts above all. I very much count on this, knowing the open character of Georgians—open to friendship and dialogue.

Ukrainian Party's Views of Extremism Supported

LD2010085489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Plenum met in Kiev yesterday to discuss two important questions: convening the next, 28th, congress of the republican Communist Party, and the tasks of its Party organization in implementing the decisions of the September 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It was decided to convene the next congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in September next year. A participant, (Svetlana Anatoliyevna Vegera) first secretary of the Minsk Rayon Party Committee of Kiev, shares her impressions on the plenum's proceedings.

[Begin (Vegera) recording] This plenum was held—as was indeed pointed out at the meeting—in an extremely difficult, one could even say critical period for perestroyka. From this stems the political pungency and the openness of discussion at it. All understand that the preparation for the forthcoming congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine coincides with the preparation for elections to the republican Supreme Soviet and to local soviets of people's deputies. This promises an uneasy political struggle for the Party, for coming to power of truly worthy people who are actually fighting for perestroyka.

This is opposed by antiperestroyka forces, nationalist and extremist forces, which have been more active of late with direct attacks on socialism and the party. In this respect the plenum unreservedly supported the CPSU platform on the Party's nationalities policy in present day conditions, with unconditional entry of the Ukraine into a united union federation. The plenum, on the principles of Party construction, decisively spoke against its federative organization and for keeping its ideopolitical and organizational unity. As far as the coming elections of bodies of power are concerned, then a struggle is already underway concerning the draft of the law on elections. As was pointed out, more than 230,000 observations and proposals on it were received, and seven alternative drafts were put forward. The plenum supported the proposal on the principle one voter, one vote, without insisting on elections from pubic organizations. However, it spoke against the nationwide election of the so-called president or chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, with unlimited powers, which contradicts the collective nature of state management.

All agreed that the Ukrainian language should become a state language in the republic on a voluntary basis, and that Russian should be the language of communication between nationalities and should also be legally equal with all languages of the nationalities living in the republic. Desires were voiced to set up national autonomies in the places where there is high concentration of representatives of various nationalities, of which there are many in the Ukraine. It seems to me that this is a sensible way in the real conditions of our republic.

I consider absolutely correct the demand voiced at the plenum to increase the accountability to the Party of those communists taking part in destructive associations, where they even act against the Party, which is in contradiction with elementary ethics. I also agree that just requirements should be stipulated for law-enforcement bodies for stopping in a stricter manner, and with the use of the entire might of the law, the attempts at kindling interethnic differences and antistate actions. Of course, irrespective of all today's difficulties, the transferring of the republic to economic independence inspires confidence in success. [end recording]

Ukranian Supreme Soviet Meets on Draft Laws

90UN0106A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed Ukrainian News Agency article: "Proposals and Observations Generalized"]

[Text] An action committee formed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] held a meeting to generalize proposals and commentary regarding the draft laws "On Additions and Amendments to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Ukrainian SSR," "On the Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR," and "On the Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR."

Speaking at the meeting, Secretary of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet N.G. Khomenko stated that the draft laws, published in the Ukrainian and local press at the beginning of August 1989, have been the subject of widespread and lively discussion in labor collectives, population residences, student assemblies, social organizations, sessions of local soviets, and in the mass information media. All proposals and observations on the draft laws were analyzed and generalized by the action committee.

The number of proposals and comments arriving at the committee during this period amounted to 232,220. Seven alternative electoral draft laws from groups and certain individuals arrived at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The text of a draft law drawn up by a group of USSR people's deputies was published in Ukrainian newspapers so that voters could familiarize themselves with it.

The proposals introduced contain appraisals of the draft laws in general as well as with respect to specific provisions. Almost 35 percent of the proposals approved the draft laws as a whole. The remainder introduced additions, amendments, corrections to individual sections, articles, and provisions.

The provision evoking the most response was that dealing with convocation of the Ukrainian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the conduct of elections of people's deputies from social organizations. Some of the proposals concerned preserving the principle of competitiveness among candidates to the post of people's deputy. Specifically, it was proposed that a standard be added to the effect that any number of individuals may be registered per electoral okrug as candidates to the post of deputy, but at least two will be so registered. Various considerations were expressed regarding the number of labor collectives having the right to nominate candidates. Proposals received repudiate the right of okrug electoral commissions to rescind their decisions on candidate registration if a candidate's pre-election program contradicts the USSR Constitution, Ukrainian SSR Constitution, or existing law. It was proposed instead that this authority be granted to the Central Electoral Commission or that the issue be decided in court.

In discussing the draft law on elections of deputies to the local soviets, voter attention was drawn to the question of the advisability of forming okrug electoral commissions for elections to rayon, city, and rayon-in-city soviets. A number of observations, additions, and corrections concern the voting rights of citizens of other union republics, the age requirement for voting, residency requirements for voters and candidates to the post of deputy, nomination of candidates whose activity is spread over the territory of republic, oblast, or city, and other provisions of the draft laws.

The generalizations of proposals and observations concerning the draft laws arriving for discussion by the people were delivered to the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, which also received alternative draft laws, statements by groups of voters, and other materials.

Moldavian Election Bills Under Discussion

LD1910100589 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Kishinev October 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Lazar:

Bills on the election of people's deputies in the Republic of Moldavia have prompted a lively public discussion in Moldavia. Meetings are being held throughout the republic to discuss the bills and newspapers and government offices are being inundated with mail.

Some suggest that deputies should not be elected directly from public organisation, which should only nominate candidates. The elections should be held according to a general procedure, involving all electors, otherwise, many people believe, the principle of equality would be violated.

Many participants in the discussion object to the provision which says that a deputy may be elected only in the constituency where he lives or works. A number of competent personalities, residing, say, in the capital of the republic, could not thereby be elected, they believe.

In the course of the discussion it is being proposed that the number of deputies be increased, that the Presidium of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet be directly elected, that any work collective, irrespective of its size, should have the right to nominate candidates for people's deputies (the bill gives such a right to large groups only).

The Presidium and the commissions of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet are examining the proposals. They are to be reported to the next republican Supreme Soviet's session which will pass laws on elections of Moldavia's people's deputies and elections to local government bodies.

Criminals Terrorize Kishinev Restaurants

PM1910093189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 p 4

[T. Borisova report: "Special Services—Mafia Does the Rounds"]

[Text] Kishinev—Visitors to Kishinev restaurants increasingly often run the risk of getting shot.

"Despite the fact that it's a Saturday, so far there have been no incidents," the maitre d'hotel of the "Kishinev" restaurant said.

With those words ringing in my ears, I entered the restaurant together with militia officers. Indeed, no "particular" excesses were to be observed there. Eight robust young guys in jeans were seated around a table for two loudly bandying expletives. Two militia sergeants were escorting out one Mogilu, who had been forcing the band to play over and over again a song in criminal slang current in the city's restaurants: "Life is good, guys, good good good. No need for our junkies to be in a bad mood."

In the kitchen several waiters clustered round us. They were all trying to speak at once:

"We felt like going on strike, because soon we're going to have to wear a flak jacket and helmet to work in the evening. One waiter made a remark to a rowdy client, so the client began to drag him around by the hair. Bottles, plates, and glasses are forever being thrown at the band. If we open our mouths, these regular clients will dine all week at our expense, that's their punishment for us. We're quite accustomed to being threatened with knives."

One evening officers of the patrol service drove up to the "Moldova" restaurant. We were greeted by a pretty woman headwaiter. What happened next was like a cheap thriller, but a thriller nevertheless. She loudly and joyfully announced:

"Everything's fine here, Comrade Officers! No problems!"

As she was saying this she was backing rather strangely toward the office. As soon as we reached somewhere private, she explained:

"Did you see how many mafiosi there are in there? I've had it if they hear me complain!"

I asked her to introduce herself. The woman automatically gave her name but then, recollecting herself, grabbed my notepad and carefully crossed it out:

"No names, I beg you! They'll get me and take their revenge!"

"An alert came in the other day from the 'Rus' restaurant," officers of the Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department Criminal Investigation Section recounted. "One of the waiters reported that a man with a pistol was wandering about in the restaurant. A few minutes later an operational group drove off to detain him. But the only response from the terrified restaurant workers to all our requests to identify this armed citizen, if only surreptitiously, was a most categorical refusal."

I talked with "Rus" Director A. Bubliy:

"The operational situation in the restaurant? Absolutely awful!" Anatoliy Afanasyevich says. "I've been working here for 10 months. There's nothing that hasn't happened in this time. Yes, yes, nothing! Look, R2,000 were demanded from V. Yakubov, the barman. The dishwasher was blackmailed, then they lay in wait for her near her home and raped her. And just recently, while I was away on business, shots were fired. There's a bullet hole in the ceiling, just take a look."

Today the restaurant rowdies are not afraid of the militia. They, of all people, know that as soon as he enters a restaurant the militiaman automatically loses the most important thing—witnesses. Nothing will induce a customer or restaurant worker to act as a witness. And court personnel—just pause to consider this absurdity!—in practice do not recognize militiamen themselves as witnesses to events. According to judicial logic, in any such incident the custodian of order is... an interested party. So this "interested party" has to play very safe in acting in the most extreme situations. The militiaman spends a long time tediously trying to persuade some insolent drunken customer, a parasite or speculator long known to the rayon internal affairs department, not to spoil other people's fun. The response is abuse and foul language. And if you try to escort him out, he'll rip your shoulderboard off without further ado because he's in a bad mood. Then just try proving that he planted a woman in a tub containing a fig tree and lashed her escort to the table with his tie. Even the victims will just shrug.

What can the militia do? It transpired in conversation with A. Koman, chief of the Kishinev Criminal Investigation Department, that one way out has now been found. For instance, the "Intourist" Association has allocated a certain (by no means hair-raising) sum to pay for a special militia subunit. But other restaurants are in no hurry to do this, clearly, with a view to saving money. But when I asked why the 'Rus' restaurant would not follow this example, Anatoliy Afanasyevich was astonished:

"I'm certainly not against concluding a contract like that with the militia. I'd pay anything to impose order in the restaurant at long last."

As I've already said, there's no need to pay "anything"—quite a moderate sum will suffice. What I don't understand is why the restaurant director first heard this idea from a journalist?! After all, the restaurant "den of thieves" is in agony, "mortally afraid" of R50 fines....

Moldavian Propagandists' Tasks Detailed

PM1910084789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 4

[Report by unnamed ATEM correspondent: "Bringing the Party's Word to the Masses"]

[Excerpts] On 29 September there was a meeting at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee between Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members and propagandists who have received republican awards for productive work on propagandizing Marxism-Leninism and CPSU policy and mobilizing the working people to successfully implement the practical tasks of socioeconomic development.

Presenting the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet testimonials and Lenin testimonials, Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Second Secretary V.K. Pshenichnikov warmly congratulated the award recipients and wished them success in their difficult but very noble work in the ideological sphere. [passage omitted]

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee second secretary then dwelt on the main spheres of propagandists' activity at the present stage of restructuring. The main event of the past month was the CPSU Central Committee plenum, which examined the question of the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions. At political studies on this topic the main emphasis must be placed on explaining three fundamental positions, the speaker stressed. First: There is one party in our country; it is united and not federal, while the isolation of the party, as they say nowadays, in ethnic enclaves is impossible. Second: We need a united and indivisible Soviet Union, and there can be no question of a revision of existing borders. Third: After the ethnic languages, Russian is to be declared the state language throughout the country. The party is perfectly aware that not everyone likes this, so it is turning to the propagandists for help and is relying on their passionate, truthful, and persuasive words.

Questions of interethnic relations are very acute in our republic. This makes it all the more important for propagandists to elaborate a correct stance that meets the party's demands. For example, the question of Gagauz autonomy in the south of the republic cropped up—the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee was sympathetic, because the possibility of actually establishing this autonomous entity does not contradict the CPSU platform on the nationalities policy in present-day conditions. However, when representatives of the striking cities demanded the creation of a Dnestr autonomous entity—it was rejected. Russians and Ukrainians, who constitute the majority of their populations, have their own national territorial formations in the country, so in this case there can be no question of any autonomous entity. There was also mention of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's principled attitude toward the political strikes in the republic. These must not happen again, the speaker stressed. The pressing problems cannot be solved by those methods. The speaker also touched on the activity of various independent formations and movements. Everything in them that is progressive and contributes to restructuring can only be welcomed, he said. But we intend to rebuff resolutely the extremist, separatist sentiments. This is the party's position, and it was confirmed once again by M.S. Gorbachev during his stay in Kiev. And we have every right to expect the republic's propaganda corps to help us implement this course.

Propagandists must also pay increased attention to explaining the laws on languages adopted at the 13th session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. It was a significant event in the history of the Moldavian people. The Moldavian language was given state language status and the Latin script was restored. It was decreed that Russian should be the language of interethnic communication along with Moldavian. But some people did not read the individual articles properly and some people did not undestand them; and the social and political situation deteriorated sharply as a result. How is the propagandist supposed to behave in this situation? He should calmly, clearly, and judiciously explain to his audience the basic provisions of the laws and convince them that in the form in which they have been adopted they in no way infringe the rights of any nation. No, you could not call these laws ideal, but life will make its own adjustments to them. This certainly will not require a heavy hand, which is what the striking collectives resorted to. If the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts the law on the single state language throughout the country's territory, we too will have to make corresponding adjustments in our republican legislative acts. [passage omitted]

The meeting with propagandists was attended by I.T. Gutsu, G.I. Yeremey, and A.N. Sangeli, members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; M.S. Platon, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers; A.D. Gandrabura, chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department; D.P. Bragish, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Youth League Central Committee, and V.M. Stratulat, secretary of the Kishinev Party City Committee.

Supreme Soviet Holds Hearing on Chernobyl

LD1910214289 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The idea of creating a state programme for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station has been advanced by USSR people's deputies, members of the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the protection of people's health and for ecology.

The aim of the programme is to draw the attention of the government, public and various ministries to the solution of a complex of medical and social problems caused by the tragedy which affected thousands of people in contaminated areas.

Insufficient attention to these problems causes a moral and psychological tension in a number of districts. The biggest number of mandates to medics during the work of the first congress of people's deputies was devoted to these matters. More such instructions come to medics now.

This was mentioned today by deputies at the first parliamentary hearings beginning work on the programme.

Deputies invited scientists, workers in the health services who participated in the elimination of the accident's consequences and people from those regions in the Ukraine, Belorussia and Russia that were affected by the disaster, the consequences of which are felt to this day.

There was a clash in the views on the problem from the centre and from localities. People at times had different stands in appraising some or other situation. There was a clash in views of professionals and lay men, in the views of people who give rein to emotion and those who soberly listen to everyone to establish the truth. The hearings lasted for nearly ten hours.

The meeting was described as constructive by Yuriy Borodin, chairman of the committee on the protection of people's health, in an interview with TASS.

He said the meeting made it possible to clarify views of deputies on this problem which is of extreme importance. Here are some of them:

There is a need for utmost openness regarding information about the accident, that had previously been kept secret.

There is a need to register all those who were in the contaminated districts and who participated in the elimination of the accident's consequences.

Priority should be given to the development of contemporary medical services in the localities that were subjected to unfavourable effects. There is a need for benefits to medics who arrive in those areas to work.

The question of resettling people from the zones of danger is posed acutely. There have been such decisions about a number of localities, but they are not fulfilled.

Incidentally, the importance of local Soviets in protection of the health of people was suggested by the discussion.

The hearings showed the prevalence of social aspects of the problem, Borodin said. Deputies are concerned that a number of ministries, specifically the Ministry of Atomic Energy, actually withdrew from the effort to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

The hearing will be continued.

Scientist Jailed at Minsk Protest Over Chernobyl

PM1910154389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Nikolay Matukovskiy report under the rubric "Direct Line": "What Exactly Is Khodyko's Crime?"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian IZVESTIYA correspondents' center has been besieged with telephone calls. Everyone is asking the same question in different ways:

"Is it true that Khodyko has been sent to jail?"

"What has Khodyko jailed for?"

"Who is drawing up a petition in defense of Khodyko? The whole of our block wants to sign...."

For 3 days in succession, Minsk has been on edge and awash with various rumors.... Yuriy Viktorovich Khodyko is well known in Belorussia. He is a doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, a professor, and head of an optics laboratory at the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Academy of Sciences Physics Institute. His statements about the problems of eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (AES), which seriously affected six rayons in Gomel Oblast and four rayons in Mogilev Oblast, have earned him special popularity. The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet session which discussed this problem reached no decision, and the pre-prepared draft of half-measures failed to satisfy deputies. The matter will be discussed again at the next session.

In order to draw the whole republic's attention to the problems, whose solution has been intolerably delayed (for several years!), the Belorussian People's Front in Support of Restructuring put forward the idea of staging a "Chernobyl march." It was decided to hold a march of representatives of the rayons hit by radiation, followed by a rally, on 30 September in Minsk. The idea was approved in every rayon. The application to stage the march and rally was sent to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 10 days in advance, as stipulated. A reply should have been received on 25 September, as stipulated. No reply was forthcoming. On 26 September representatives of the Belorussian People's Front were summoned to the Presidium, where members of the apparatus informed them that the rally could not be held, because the decision had been made to stage a subbotnik in aid of the victims of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Ye. Yankovich, acting secretary of the city soviet executive committee (gorispolkom), backed up the verbal statement made by members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus.

But, despite heavy rain, the march and rally went ahead nevertheless. The rally was addressed by eminent scientists and people's deputies. The only people who did not address the rally and did not attend at all were the leaders of the republic, who had been personally invited. Once again they dodged the issue....

On 10 October Yu. Khodyko was invited to the Moskovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department in Minsk and from there was taken away in a police car under the "care" of a sergeant to the people's court. The professor managed to prevail on the judge to defer the trial until 13 October so that he could ask for a lawyer. This concession was made, but on 13 October the trial went ahead and the professor was sentenced for holding an unsanctioned rally: Two months' corrective labor, plus 20 percent deducted from his wages at work. So, Yu.V. Khodyko has not been "jailed" and, contrary to all the rumors, has not even been "arrested." But he has been convicted.

Lithuanians 'Disillusioned' With Politics

LD1910125889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The Lithuanian public opinion research center concludes, on the basis of the poll conducted at the beginning of October, that a certain disillusionment with politics is to be felt in Lithuania. The rating of all the political forces and leaders subjected to polling has dropped. According to the polling technique, the rating can range form 100 to minus 100; and Sajudis, the Lithuanian reform movement, retains its leading position among the political forces with 57 points, although it has lost 11 points since the previous public opinion poll at the end of May. The rating of Lithuanian Communist Party is also at seven points lower, the latest results polled in October being 15. The radical Lithuanian Liberty League has lost as many as 20 points, plummeting below zero to a rating of minus five. The most (?speedy) loss of popularity has been suffered by Mikhail Gorbachev's domestic policy, rating 23 points lower than in May. (?At the last poll it) scored 40 points. [passage omitted]

Brazauskas Comments on Lithuanian Congress

LD2010003889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party will be a turning point in the party's history. The party takes responsibility for the future and fate of the nation, of all the people of Lithuania. This was emphasized by the Lithuanian Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas, who spoke in Kaunas tonight [19 October].

He spent the whole day in this second largest city of Lithuania, whose party organization will send 113 delegates, more than one-tenth of the whole number, to the party congress which is to take place in the second half of December.

Algirdas Brazauskas met the party leaders of Kaunas, visited several institutions, and in the evening made a speech before party activists at the center of sociopolitical activity. He emphasized that the party was striving to translate into life the wish of Lithuania's people—restoration of the sovereign state. This does not mean, Algirdas Brazauskas pointed out, that economic, cultural, and other relations with the Soviet Union and the other republics should be broken up. They must acquire a new content, being based on partnership and equal rights. The resolutions of the congress ought to be well thought out, considering the actual situation, since hasty decisions come to nothing.

We must pursue our goals by constructive deeds and laws, Algirdas Brazauskas said.

We will remind you here that the party conference of Kaunas proposed to convene the party congress with a representation of 4,000 delegates, but last week's Central Committee plenum passed a decsion that there would be 1,000 delegates.

Sajudis Editor Assesses Lithuanian Situation

LD1810110389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Interview with Lyubov Chernays, editor of Sajudis newspaper, by correspondent Elena Berezovskaya in Vilnius; date of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] Our correspondent Elena Berezovskya recently returned from Vilnius. She asked Lyubov Chernaya, editor of Sajudis' Russian-language newspaper—Sajudis is the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka—to answer a few questions and assess the current situation in Lithuania.

[Chernaya] I must say it is rather difficult to give a simple assessment because the processes taking place are heterogeneous and I would say multilevel. Generally speaking, it slows down; sometimes it speeds up. It keeps changing. Right now, it has slowed down a little. That was shown by the latest session of the Supreme Soviet, which delayed the adoption of very important documents, the laws on citizenship, referendum, and elections. In some places, there has been somewhat of a drop in political activity and that is still going on. That is probably natural after the euphoria which gripped the people when everyone was dreaming of rapid independence and sovereignty and it turned out that these things were not so easy to attain. Furthermore, with the constantly worsening material situation, interest in politics has waned.

Let us hope that there will be an upsurge when the election campaign starts. It is now developing but, for the time being, it is developing relatively slowly.

[Berezovskaya] You talk of independence and sovereignty. What do you mean by these words, these concepts—independence and sovereignty?

[Chernaya] That is indeed a very interesting question. In our paper in particular, we have even thought of introducing a section on it, on the ways people understand these words, what is meant by independence and sovereignty.

I think this concept obviously must be divided into several areas. Of course, there is political sovereignty which should be based on economic sovereignty. But there is also cultural sovereignty. So let's say there are three main areas. And, of course, all this is tied up with the sovereignty of the individual and the independence of the individual and the concept of human rights lies at the basis of all this.

Talks are now in progress with the central authorities in Moscow on Lithuania's transition to economic independence starting in the New Year. Seventy percent of the enterprises will be involved. There will be deductions from the republican budget—but not from all enterprises—which will go into the central budget. This is what is happening. Talks are under way so it is too early to say anything.

Furthermore, in my opinion, the main difficulty, let's say, is that the economic independence of the Lithuanian republic will take effect against a background of economic nonindependence for other republics. So how economic ties will work when there are free ties with one republic and limits on supplies with others is not quite clear. But we'll see.

[Berezovskaya] You have to start somewhere.

[Chernaya] You do indeed. There is no other way, as they say. But political independence means the free self-determination of the people. That is laid down in our Constitution. So all that remains is to adopt a law on citizenship and a referendum law and, in my view, the people should then express what they want.

[Berezovskaya] What do you think of the decision by one of the rayons, Salcininkai Rayon, on Polish autonomy?

[Chernaya] You know, that is a very complex question which we are now debating in our editorial office. It would appear, for example, that supporters of democracy, pure democracy, say that this is democracy. After all, in general, in a democratic society if people want to declare their autonomy then they undoubtedly have the right to do so. But we do not yet live in a democratic society for a start, and we must not forget that. That's the first point. The second point is that the Poles and the Polish question in general have a very old historical tradition in Lithuania. There are numerous nuances here. It's a tricky question which is difficult to gauge by simple standards. Some things are said but I don't want to talk about them because that is probably for the Poles to talk about. But in my view this is nonetheless an unjustified process which again cannot lead to an agreement or consensus. I think that in the situation in which we now find ourselves it is probably necessary to devote thought to some sort of positive steps that could be taken together to rectify the situation and not to end up in a complete deadlock.

Lithuanian KGB, MVD Chiefs Answer Deputies

90UN0085A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Oct 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Answers to Deputies' Questions"]

[Excerpts] [Passage ommited] Answer of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Marijonas Misiukonis to questions by Deputy Z. Vaishvila regarding the plan of measures number 1/731 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the USSR:

First question: "Is the plan of measures 1/731 of the USSR MVD with all the addenda and protocols known to you?" If one talks about the plan of measures, confirmed by the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V. Bakatin on 20 February of this year, we have it. In it, first of all, the attention of the Soviet republics' internal affairs organs, and in part those of Lithuania, is drawn to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations in certain parts of the country and relations between separate groups of people. They have taken on extreme forms, for the solution of problems that have arisen, physical force and arms are used. Therefore in this document to internal affairs organs it is recommended to take appropriate measures to strengthen the security of weapons and combat supplies, and to improve the work of internal affairs organs. I may say that in the course of executing this plan by internal affairs organs over 8 months of this year, about 400 pieces of illegally stored firearms were confiscated from the population of the republic. I may not talk about this in greater detail.

Second question: "If known, why is it not announced to the general public?" We cannot announce all our plans to the general public. Thus, two weeks ago a group of 5 people were detained in Marijampole who were engaged in systematic pilfering of high-bulk yarn—R30,000 worth was stolen. Another example. A so-called peasant mafia, terrorizing the heads of farm enterprises, raged for a long time in the Shilute, Shilele and Taurage rayons. Obviously in both cases we could not warn the general public of our plans. I can merely say, that the person suspected in intimidation and violence was detained the day before yesterday by inhabitants of the Taurage rayon.

Third question: "Do workers in institutions headed by you extend help to representatives of corresponding internal affairs institutions?" Yes, they do. Internal affairs organs of our republic, as you know, are dually subordinated, therefore we extend help to the workers of the USSR MVD, Belorussian SSR, Latvia and Estonia. In turn, workers of those organs also help. This help is primarily to fight crime, and to strengthen public security.

In the fourth question it is asked whether we provide information to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. We not only inform it, but also

the general public. Thus, for instance, crime statistics have been declassified and we report happenings in print, on television and radio. The ministry will not present information about the public-political situation in the republic either to Moscow or to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. We do not have specialists trained for this work, sections which could analyze, give an objective evaluation of the situation, and draw conclusions. [passage ommited]

Answer from the Chairman of the KGB, Eduardas Eismuntas, to the inquiries and questions from the deputies: Honorable deputies: First of all, on an inquiry by Deputy Z. Vaishvila. The KGB is guided by its instructions. All information which we have within our area of competence we present to the leadership of the republic and to the USSR KGB.

A group of people's deputies of the USSR—V. Chapas, S. Geda, and B. Genzelis ask two questions. First—When will KGB archives be declassified? The rules of storage are determined by the Council of Ministers of the USSR. As far as we know, a new law is being prepared. I hope it will be more democratic and it appears that a portion of state security documents will be declassified. In that connection I must emphasize that regardless of the classification of the archives we closely cooperate with journalists and scientists in cases where they turn for help. Thus recently we gave an opportunity to a group of writers to get acquainted with archival materials on several questions of historic significance. But we are against the archives being used to settle private scores.

State security archives are not as big as many imagine. They are constantly being reviewed, and materials, having lost their historic or practical significance, are destroyed. Only a store of major matters remains. It helps us with our work in liquidating infractions against socialist law.

The above-mentioned deputies also ask whether people, having in their opinion, conducted repressions or committed crimes against the Lithuanian people will have their names publicized. The KGB in the past used such lists to exile, therefore to this day, this requires us to wash off marks of shame from our work. One should say that in any case only a court could determine who was guilty and who should answer for his guilt.

(Completion of the answer of E. Eismuntas and other answers to deputies' questions will be in the next issue)

Christmas, All Souls 'Holidays' in Lithuania

LD1810152689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Vilnius, 18 Oct (ELTA-TASS)—Henceforth in Lithuania, 1 November, All Souls' Day, and 25 December, Christmas Day, will be considered holidays. The appropriate decree of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is published today in the republican papers.

Liudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian Parliament Presidium, told our correspondent: "This is the first occasion in Soviet Lithuania that a day of religious celebration, Christmas, has been declared a holiday. Respect for the dead in Lithuania has long-standing traditions and deep roots. These days always have been dear to people of the older generation, who celebrated them even in the times which were most grim for Lithuania. This also has been transmitted to the younger generation and is now connected with its spiritual rebirth."

Estonia To Issue New Currency To Replace Ruble

LD1910161689 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Tallinn, October 19, (TASS)— Estonia plans to issue new currency which will partially replace the ruble, the all-union currency.

In January 1990 this Baltic republic switches to cost-accounting. From this time a part of the population's fixed incomes will be paid in certificates, Urbe Nou, head of the domestic market protection division at the Estonian State Planning Committee, said in today's interview with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA.

Nou notes that each resident of the republic will receive an equal percentage of wages and salaries in certificates with which he or she will be able to buy scarce goods at special shops.

The Estonian government plans for the quantity of scarce goods eventually to surpass in value the number of certificates paid to the population.

The introduction of a new currency is a way of protecting the domestic republican market, Nou believes. Certificates may be exchanged for rubles at a floating exchange rate.

Estonian Economic Accountability Progress Viewed

PM1910160189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Sep 89 p 2

[ETA-attributed L. Sher report: "Preparation Enters Decisive Phase at Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Presidium Session"]

[Excerpt] All the basic questions on the agenda at the republic Council of Ministers Presidium session held 25 September were dictated by the calendar. It is 3 months until the beginning of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] change to economic accountability, and there is still a great deal of work to do. The numerous problems connected with the transfer must be solved by the republic Supreme Soviet session which opens 5 October; and a number of draft laws prepared by the government will be submitted for discussion there. Finally, there is another important aspect in the preparation for the change to Estonian self-management—and

that is "sorting out," coordinating, and tying in the principles on which relations between republic and union organs will be constructed in the new economic conditions.

As E. Savisaar, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR and chairman of the republic State Planning Committee, noted, the situation in the meetings being held by our representatives with leaders and officials from the union organs can be divided into two stages. The first involves misunderstandings, including ideological misunderstandings: "How is the ministry to enter into an agreement with its former enterprise, or even with the republic?" The realization has gradually dawned that the age of commandism is passing into nonexistence. And in the 3 weeks since the beginning of the talks, the sides have started to compromise.

Three principles are not subject to compromise: the principle of the autonomy for the republic's budget; the principle of running the republic's national economic complex as a whole; and the principle of contract relations between republic and union organs.

One of the basic problems is transferring enterprises to the republic's authority. Talks with Yu. Maslyukov, first secretary of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's State Planning Committee, brought about an agreement to start transferring nearly 70 enterprises, for which arrangements already exist with the USSR State Planning Committee and the appropriate USSR Council of Ministers bureau, and then, over a 1-month period, to examine the future of the remainder.

(A small detail: In Belorussia, the decision to transfer enterprises to the republic's authority was made without any agreement with the labor collectives at all. In our republic, the government obliged the ministries and departments to intensify the explanatory work and to show more extensively what such a transfer really involves, so that the labor collectives are aware of what they are doing.)

Transportation problems are also being resolved in the union organs alongside questions of integration into the new system. A conference of the three republics' railroad workers in Riga, for example, firmly stated that it is possible to have an autonomous republican organization of railroad transportion. This idea will be examined at the USSR State Planning Committee at the beginning of October.

It is proving difficult to reach agreement on trade at the moment. Here the question rests in many respects on the prices for agricultural output supplied to union stocks.

In principle, relations between the republic and union budgets have been coordinated. But now an agreement must be reached on the size of the quota that Estonia will transfer to the union budget. Talks are being held in the sphere of credit and monetary relations.

As I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, stressed, the work being carried out in the union organs is large-scale and complex; and there is evidence of its positive results. The main thing now is to start moving toward the implementation of Estonian self-management, gathering speed gradually. But if this is to be done, neither the republic organs nor the enterprises have the right to sit with their arms folded in passive anticipation of changes being "sent down" from above. Everyone has to fight for Estonian self-management, not just the republic State Planning Committee.

GLASNOST Editor Sees 'Failure' of Perestroyka

PM2010140889 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 10 Oct 89 p 7

[Interview with GLASNOST Editor Sergey Grigoryants by Carlos Nadal and Jordi Montaner in Barcelona; date not given]

[Text] Barcelona—Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the Soviet opposition's GLASNOST magazine, who visited Barcelona to attend a symposium on "Freedom of Information Worldwide" organized by Reporters Without Frontiers at the Catalonian Press Club, said in statements to LA VANGUARDIA that perestroyka is a plan formulated by the Soviet leadership to modernize and salvage the country's regime and to perpetuate its own influence."

[Interviewer] Could we describe GLASNOST magazine as the mouthpiece of perestroyka's conscience?

[Grigoryants] The magazine is critical of perestroyka insofar as reforms are not implemented and those that are being implemented are not working. Approximately 18 months ago we published a lengthy article by a Soviet EConomist who challenged the economic program that Gorbachev wants to carry out in the Soviet Union. KGB officials came and confiscated the issue. Now time has passed and Gorbachev has proved us right with the latest economic measures adopted a few weeks ago.

[Interviewer] What is he magazine's ideology? Do you believe that democratic socialism is the solution for the USSR's political future?

[Grigoryants] I would not talk in terms of ideology, because ideology is synonymous with communism. GLASNOST magazine advocates a multiparty system, free elections, democratic freedoms including freedom of expression, and a market economy.

[Interviewer] What is Gorbachev's most pressing problem—the economy or nationalities?

[Grigoryants] The most pressing problem is the economy. Actual starvation levels are being reached. There are food shortages, and lines are growing longer and longer. The nationalities problem, on the other hand, is much more complex and not so pressing. It is

more complex and the problems are not the same everywhere. The nationalism issue is not the same in the Baltic republics as it is in the Transcaucasus or Central Asia.

[Interviewer] Does the man in the street really know what perestroyka is?

[Grigoryants] The average Soviet citizen identifies perestroyka with Gorbachev himself. They are the same thing. However most people are not fully aware of the intention of these reforms.

[Interviewer] Do the official media really help to propagate Gorbachev's reform plans? Is it true that PRAVDA is cool about perestroyka and that IZVESTIYA, on the other hand, is in favor?

[Grigoryants] There is virtually no difference between what the two of them publish. Items about perestroyka do appear in the press but there is no real information. There is more glasnost to be seen, however, especially in the letters published condemning instances of corruption.

[Interviewer] There seem to be three possibilities for the future of perestroyka: that Gorbachev will succeed, that he will have to adopt special powers, or that the Army will carry out a coup d'etat. What is your opinion?

[Grigoryants] This picture painted in the West is incorrect. I believe that the present situation is confused and increasingly out of control. The concept of perestroyka has failed because of the Soviet people's real demand for enough to eat.

[Interviewer] So can we fear a reversal of the reform process carried out by Gorbachev?

[Grigoryants] In the USSR for the past year there has been a latent fear of a military coup d'etat. The coup could be staged either by the established groups in power in order to paralyze the people's reform initiatives or by groups aspiring to greater freedom.

Commission Urges Autonomy for Soviet Germans

LD1910213489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Soviet of Nationalities commission on the problems of Soviet Germans arrived at the opinion that the restoration of autonomy and the full rehabilitation of Soviet citizens with German nationality are immediate tasks. The most well-founded and acceptable region for the location of a German autonomous area is the former German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic territory on the Volga, in a number of rayons of Saratov and Volgograd oblasts.

CSSR Paper Interviews Moscow's Lev Zaykov

AU1910092089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee, by unnamed RUDE PRAVO staff journalist: "Two Heads Are Better Than One"—"on the occasion of the opening of the Days of Moscow in Prague"]

[Excerpt] [RUDE PRAVO] What is the Moscow city party organization doing for the development of the Soviet capital, on what is it concentrating?

[Zaykov] In conditions in which it is difficult to expect to be able to solve problems rapidly, one has to designate those that are particularly urgent, and the solution of which would make the life of Muscovites easier to a certain extent and would affirm the party organization's ability to deal with real problems.

The Communists in the Soviet capital see the purpose of their activity in uniting and organizing people and achieving concrete results in all spheres of socialist construction.

We have no doubt that the key to success lies in the political approach to the solution of economic problems. We are orienting economists toward abandoning the predominantly administrative methods of management in favor of economic methods. **We are restructuring the activity of the party committees in such a way as to make them try to concentrate on ensuring restructuring ideopolitically.**

The Moscow party committee has embarked upon the path of coordinating and combining joint efforts by stimulating the sociopolitical activity of the working people. How are these objectives to be reached? By means of party organizations, of selection and placement of cadres, workers control, and creating a healthy political and moral situation in the city, districts, and work collectives.

The results of this work are obvious at the first glance. A radical economic reform is being carried out in the city. Muscovites are working more efficiently—the increase of labor productivity exceeded the plan by 1.7 percent. Production costs are being reduced and the rate of return on invested capital is increasing. To put it concisely: the Moscow economy is regaining the momentum that was lost in the past years. However, we are a long way from having succeeded in everything; some problems have become even more acute.

The main reason, obviously, is that we did not sufficiently foresee what a complex job it would be to overcome the outdated methods of management. Thus far, we have not had much experience with this.

Taking into consideration the errors of the past and the complexity of the present period, the **Progress 95 territorial branch program** was worked out at the initiative of our city committee. Its purpose is to ensure the intensification of the Moscow economy on the basis of the results of scientific-technical development. A system is being introduced into the entire complex of tasks connected with the city's development, and it is being combined with Moscow's strong intellectual potential.

It is important to stress that the program originated with work collectives and underwent social analysis.

Naturally—no matter how important for society the rate of production growth and new machinery and technologies are—it might all lose its value if it is not subordinated to the task of ensuring the population's standard of living. The party, economic, and state organizations, and all Muscovites face an immensely big task: to take a clear step forward in resolving tasks connected with the people's everyday lives.

What have we achieved in that sphere? Since the beginning of the 5-year plan in 1986, the population's income has risen by more than 18 percent. More apartments, schools, hospitals and other facilties connected with the social sphere than before are being built. One can speak about substantial progress in overcoming the longstanding backwardness in that sphere in our city. We must do more, however. Let us take, for example, a weighty problem such as the need to ensure an apartment for each Moscow family by the year 2000. Extensive tasks still have to be resolved in the development of health care and when it comes to improving the environment in the city.

Now we are fully concentrating **on the program for the city's going over to the principles of self-financing and self-administration.**

The introduction of territorial economic accountability will make it possible to speed up the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems in the city.

As you can see, we have many problems. We speak openly with Muscovites about them and do not conceal the fact that they are profound, cannot be postponed, and that solving them will be difficult.

[RUDE PRAVO] The CPSU primary organizations are holding their annual conference at present. What can already be said now about the experience and conclusions which arise from them? How do the Moscow Communists interpret the party's vanguard role in restructuring?

[Zaykov] The annual meetings in party organizations are in full swing. In about a quarter of the primary organizations, for all practical purposes they have been concluded.

What characterizes their course? I would point out the constructive atmosphere in seeking new forms of party work under the present conditions and the matter-of-fact assessment of every Communist's share in restructuring. At the meetings, their participants came forward with more than 120,000 critical suggestions and recommendations concerning the restructuring of the party work, the socioeconmomic development of the individual city districts and the whole of the city, and the introduction of the cooperative movement.

Intraparty democracy is expanding. Every fourth head of a party group and more than 30 percent of the chairmen of workshop and primary party organizations are elected from two or more candidates. The assessment of candidates is actively attended not only by Communists, but also by nonparty members. The participation of persons without party affiliation at the annual membership meetings is becoming increasingly commonplace. By their contributions to discussion, they are giving debates more dynamism, increasing the critical nature of deliberations, and drawing the Communists' attention to sore spots in work collectives.

However, not all annual membership meetings are in the style that the time requires. There are obvious trends toward increased criticism of superior party, state, and economic bodies to the detriment of self-criticism and critical analysis of one's own shortcomings and mistakes.

And how do the Moscow Communists interpret the party's vanguard role in society? Precisely this question is at the center of the current Moscow-wide discussion. The results of the first stage of this discussion will be dealt with at the plenum of the city party committee in the second half of November. [passage omitted]

Amnesty for All Afghanistan POW's Urged

PM1910141189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 p 4

[Special Correspondent I. Chernyak article under the "Followup to Parliamentary Debates" rubric: "Hostages of War"]

[Excerpts] It was 15 February 1989. The newspaper front pages carried reports on the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan. "The last man to cross the border was the commander—Lieutenant General B. Gromov... Not a single Soviet soldier remained after him."

That wasn't the truth. At any rate, not the whole truth. [passage omitted]

Kept Alive by "Nadezhda"

According to the official figures 330 Soviet people were posted missing in action during the war in Afghanistan. But that is only according to the official figures...

The following information comes from the card index of "Nadezhda," the People's Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War:

...No 30, Lisnyak, Nikolay Vasilyevich. Born 1964. Drafted September 1982. Assigned to the Qandahar

DShB [possibly airborne assault battalion]. Assigned to detail 29 December 1982. Failed to return to unit. Parents insisted that his grave be opened. It proved to be someone else.

...No 155, Arbuzov, Pavel Dmitriyevich. Born 1936. Volunteer. Seconded by USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry to Shibirgan. Set out for supplies with two Afghans. Taken prisoner on return journey. Death certificate issued.

...No 168. Novikov, Igor Yevgenyevich. Drafted 1 October 1983. Served at Jalalabad. Posted missing in action 23 January 1984. Eye-witnesses testify that he was sent for firewood and failed to return. A search revealed signs of a struggle and a broken belt.

There are 415 cards in the Nadezhda index.

Possibly Yura's story is not the most typical. But how does one judge what is the most typical? Someone went missing after a battle, someone else was caught in an ambush, others went to the market for supplies and didn't come back. Some were captured through their own carelessness, others through inexperience. There are also those who left of their own accord, for reasons known only to themselves...

During the 9 years of war around 50 people were released from captivity. Of those 50, 31 returned to the USSR, and the rest went to the West. The international committee "For the Rescue of Soviet Prisoners of War" believes that there are around 75 more still alive in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

They were the ones left behind after Gen Gromov.

..."Were you or your immediate relatives imprisoned or interned during the Great Patriotic War, where were they released, when, and under what circumstances?"—that question still appears on some official forms. It shows the attitude of our official organs to prisoners of war: guarded, distrustful, knowingly presuming a certain guilt toward the country on the part of the man concerned. And is it any wonder that during the last war, too, the prisoner of war problem was not given prominence? Of course you can find quite convincing explanations for that if you want to. The Geneva accords didn't devote even a line to them, did they? But then it was the major, strategic questions which had to be resolved. No one remembered them during the troop withdrawal either? The job then was to bring tens of thousands of men home, and the prisoners of war were a drop in the ocean—they don't even number a hundred. Not enough help was given? But the opposition is intransigent—you should have tried it yourself!

Maybe so. But there is one fact which troubles me constantly. During those 9 years an American by the name of Ludmilla Thorn, a staffer of the Freedom House organization, brought 15 people—almost one-third of the prisoners of war!—out of Pakistan singlehandedly. An American. Working alone. She managed to meet with Reagan, went to the leaders of the "seven," and toured the mujahidin camps in person. Whereas our bigwigs, with all their vast resources, extensive contacts, and network of representatives throughout the world, failed to do that, for reasons which still escape me.

A few years ago the international committee "For the Rescue of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan" was formed in the United States. It was headed by the artist Mikhail Shemyakin. Our journalist Iona Andronov joined the committee. However, he failed to find a common language with the Americans and was soon dropped from the committee. I do not want to apportion blame; I only know one thing: Those who were imprisoned did not gain from the ensuing brouhaha. In 1988 a Soviet counterpart to that committee was created. Well, better late than never—if it gets results. But, as before, it achieved nothing. The lists of those who joined that committee would take up a good half-page of a newspaper—they range from the USSR Youth Organizations Committee to the War Veterans Committee, from a singer to a consultant of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Letters are written and depressing replies received. Talks are held and reassurances given of sympathy with our grief...

It was from necessity that the mothers of the MIA's and those people who simply care formed themselves into the "Nadezhda" people's committee in February this year. They have taken up the work that the state should be doing: helping widows and mothers, finding witnesses to the death or capture of soldiers, and caring for those who have come back.

Betrayers of the Motherland?

Yes, capture is a dishonor, a defeat. But what conclusions should lawyers draw from that?

Here is an extract from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Criminal Code: "Voluntary surrender out of cowardice or fear is punishable by death or 15 years' imprisonment."

Here is an extract from the "Commentary on Military Criminal Law" (Military Literature Publishing House, 1988): "Voluntary surrender... is a way in which a military serviceman avoids combat actions for the purpose of saving his life. It shows that the culprit, guided by selfish and base interests, does not want to perform his military duty in battle."

The prewar regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army did not mention prisoners at all. The postwar regulations mentioned only surrender, that is, betrayal of the motherland. The new draft regulations published quite recently do not talk about capture either. The "Commentary," however, adds the condition that "the military servicemen's lack of a weapon, ammunition, and so forth cannot be considered a valid reason for capture." What should he do then—kill himself? But how can he—if he hasn't got a revolver or a grenade? "The threat of death cannot force a Soviet soldier to

surrender either." But why should the man with a gun aimed at his head prefer death to life? Where is the justification for this pointless death?

At the Vienna meeting in 1988 we acknowledged the need to bring Soviet law into line with international law. Meanwhile, the International Convention on Human Rights says that the right to life is an inalienable right of each person and is protected by law. Under international law, prisoners of war are not criminals and cannot be made accountable for being captured.

I once read an interview that Major General V. Khrobostov of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate gave to one of the central magazines. "We are not living in Stalinist times," the general said. "Our officers and men serving in Afghanistan who escaped from captivity and returned home are not and will not be subject to any such repressions and punishments. It is our ideological opponents who sow such fears and intimidation in order to make it even more difficult for those who through force of circumstances fell into the hands of Afghan antigovernment forces to return home."

At the time that the general gave that interview, Andrey Mateutts, who had returned from captivity, was behind bars, and only intervention by the press helped secure his recent release. While the general was blaming ideological opponents, former Private Sergey Mochilin was writing appeals for a pardon. (And, incidentally, that sick young man who fled from his unit because of baiting by an officer remains in prison to this day)...

I won't say that all those who have stayed in the West dream of returning to the USSR. But there are such. They are unable to make up their minds despite the amnesty promised last year by the prosecutor general. After all, an amnesty is a supralegal act, it should be declared by the supreme organ of state power, to wit, the USSR Supreme Soviet. The prosecutor general's words, on the other hand, have no force of law. In other words, there are no guarantees that the prison gate will not clang behind the servicemen on their arrival.

To Punish or to Pardon?

That is the question. An amnesty for all or not? This is currently being debated by USSR people's deputies. And many people are awaiting their decision. But the discussion is making headway with difficulty—the wound that has barely begun to heal goes too deep.

There is agreement on one thing: The majority of prisoners should be given an unconditional pardon. But should one exonerate those who allowed themselves to be taken prisoner out of fear of punishment for arms trafficking in weapons, those who took to the mountains after killing their commander, or those who fought against their own kind?

I agree, but tormenting doubts persist nevertheless, and will not go away...

It is difficult to predict how a decision on a partial amnesty would be received in the camps in Pakistan. There is no doubt that our military prosecutors will do their best to secure prisoners' return. But if two or three were to be handed over to us tomorrow and we imprisoned them (we should have to), would we not close the doors once and for all on those who now look entreatingly toward us from abroad?

Yes, justice means strictly observing the law, and consequently pardoning them all is illegal. But an amnesty, after all, is not rehabilitation. An amnesty is a display of mercy rather than a full exoneration. The introduction of any condition, however, is a move away from mercy toward justice. But if we are talking about justice, it, alas, is an illusion. The high-ranking figures who sent the boys off to war have seen out their days in tranquillity. And if we take on ourselves the mission of punishing or pardoning, then let us also talk about what 9 years produced in Afghanistan! How 15,000 of our young men died. And whether it is true that there are hundreds of thousands of dead Afghans. And what conclusions we draw.

"The truth will horrify us," said USSR People's Deputy Pavel Shetko, who returned home from Afghanistan an invalid, at a meeting with ex-prisoners. "And that is not surprising: You cannot make war with clean hands."

"...The mother of Misha Yashkov writes you. He has not returned from Afghanistan. I have been waiting for him many years. But perhaps my dear son is in captivity? How many tears have been shed throughout these years, how many sleepless nights there have been. I have lost my son in a foreign land. For what? I am 64 years old; I still await my son and will continue to do so until my dying day..."

There are quite a lot of such letters at the "Nadezhda" committee.

There are around 75 Soviet soldiers now held in captivity. I would vote for a full amnesty in order for even one to return home. As the councils of servicemen of the reserve from 143 oblasts in the country have done.

One hears people say that the people will not understand a full amnesty. That we should not amnesty them all. Yet an officer who caused the father of an MIA to have a heart attack by calling his son a traitor also considered himself one of "the people." A war veteran who considered it his duty to daily reproach the mother of a POW with her son's treason spoke on behalf of "the people." And those who have persecuted already grief-stricken parents, forcing them to move to another city, would also apparently be part of "the people." Do they determine the countenance of our nation?

I have not given the surname of Yura, whose story I related at the beginning. I met him recently: He has been unable to stand it here. He is intending to go back. For good. And one journalist has already rushed into print to say that he would withhold his hand from him. That is the easy way out, I think.

"...Russian military commanders have said that the war will be over only when the last POW has been released."

There are now around 75 Soviet soldiers in captivity...

Draft Law on Changes to Georgian Constitution

90US0045A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Draft Law of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic on Amendments and Additions to the Georgian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)]

[Text] In order to develop socialist democracy and self-government of the people, to perfect the electoral system, the structure and operation of the soviets of people's deputies and judicial organs, and in accordance with the USSR Law of 1 December 1988 "On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)," the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic resolves:

I. That the following amendments and additions be entered into the Constitution of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]:

1. That Chapter 10 be stated as follows:

Chapter 10. System and Operating Principles of the Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 85. The soviets of people's deputies—the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and Adzhar ASSR and their local soviets of people's deputies, the Soviet of People's Deputies of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, rayon, city, rayon-in-city, settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies—comprise a unified system of representative organs of state authority.

Article 86. The soviets of people's deputies will serve for a period of 5 years.

Elections of people's deputies will be scheduled for not later than 4 months prior to the expiration of term of office of the applicable organs.

Article 87. The most important questions of republic and local significance will be resolved at sessions of the Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies, respectively, or will be put to referendum by them.

The chairmen of the Supreme Soviets will be elected by the Supreme Soviets. The chairmen of the local soviets of people's deputies will be elected by the local soviets. Supreme Soviets and local soviets will have their own Presidiums, with the exception of city (for cities subordinate to rayons), settlement, and village soviets.

The soviets of people's deputies will form permanent commissions and will create executive and administrative organs, as well as other organs, accountable to them.

Responsible officials elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies may not serve more than two consecutive terms.

Any responsible official may be removed from his position prior to expiration of his term of office as a result of failure to properly execute his official duties.

Article 88. The soviets of people's deputies will form organs of people's control, combining state control with social control of the working people at enterprises, establishments, and organizations.

Organs of people's control will monitor the execution of legal requirements, and of state programs and tasks; they will fight against violations of state discipline, against manifestations of regionalism and a departmental approach to conducting official business, against waste and poor management, red tape and bureaucratism; they will coordinate the efforts of other control organs; they will facilitate improvement in the structure and operation of the state apparatus.

Article 89. The soviets of people's deputies will manage, both directly and through the organs they establish, all branches of state, economic, and sociocultural construction; they will make decisions, provide for their accomplishment, and exercise supervision of their implementation.

Article 90. The soviets of people's deputies will operate on the basis of collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of issues; on the basis of openness and regular accountability on the part of executive, administrative, and other organs established by the soviets—to them and to the people; and on the basis of enlisting broad citizen participation in their activities.

The soviets of people's deputies and organs established by them will take public opinion into account, and will bring the most important state and local issues before the public for discussion. They will keep citizens systematically informed regarding their work and decisions made.

2. That Chapter 11 be stated as follows:

Chapter 11. The Electoral System

Article 91. Elections of people's deputies will be conducted by single-mandate electoral okrug on the basis of universal, equal, and direct vote under secret ballot.

Article 92. Elections of people's deputies will be universal: citizens of the Georgian SSR who have attained the age of 18 have the right to vote.

A citizen of the Georgian SSR who has attained the age of 18 may be elected people's deputy, but must have attained the age of 21 to be elected people's deputy of the Georgian SSR.

A citizen of the Georgian SSR may not simultaneously occupy the post of people's deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Individuals in the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, in the Councils of Ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR or Adzhar ASSR, and in the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies—with the exception of the chairmen of these organs; department and administration chiefs of the executive committees of local soviets; deputies of the above-mentioned officials, judges, and state arbiters—may not serve as deputies in the applicable soviet of people's deputies.

Citizens who are mentally ill, declared incompetent by a court, incarcerated, or in court-ordered, compulsory treatment programs will not take part in elections.

Article 93. Elections of people's deputies will be on an equal basis: each voter in each electoral okrug will have one vote; voters will cast their ballots on a basis of equality.

Article 94. Elections of people's deputies will be direct: people's deputies will be elected directly by the citizens.

Article 95. Voting in elections of people's deputies will be by secret ballot: Monitoring the will of the voters is not permitted.

Article 96. The right to nominate candidates to the post of people's deputy belongs to the labor collectives, student collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, social organizations, and assemblies of voters by place of residence and servicemen by unit location.

There is no restriction on the number of candidates to the post of people's deputy. Each pre-election assembly participant may propose for discussion the candidacy of any individual, including himself.

Any number of candidates may be included on the electoral ballot.

Candidates to the post of people's deputy will participate in election campaigns on an equal basis.

Expenses incurred in conjunction with the preparation and conduct of elections of people's deputies will be paid by the state.

Article 97. Preparation for elections of people's deputies will be accomplished publicly and openly.

The conduct of elections will be a function of electoral commissions formed from representatives of labor collectives, student collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, social organizations, and assemblies of voters by place of residence and servicemen by unit location.

Citizens of the Georgian SSR, labor collectives, student collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, and social organizations are guaranteed the opportunity to a free and all-encompassing discussion of the political, duty-performance, and personal qualities of candidates to the post of people's deputy, as well as the right to campaign for or against a candidate at assemblies, in the press, on television, and radio.

The procedure for conducting elections of people's deputies will be as defined by the laws of the Georgian SSR, and in the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR—by the laws of these autonomous republics as well.

Article 98. The voters will issue instructions to their deputies.

Appropriate soviets of peoples deputies will examine instructions and take them into account in drawing up plans for economic and social development and formulating the budget, as well as in making decisions on other matters; they will organize the execution of instructions and inform citizens as to their implementation.

3. That Chapter 13 be stated as follows:

Chapter 13. The Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR

Article 104. The highest organ of state power in the Georgian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet has the right to take under review and decide any matter within the jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) ratifies and amends the Constitution of the Georgian SSR;

2) examines matters related to the borders of the Georgian SSR;

3) makes decisions with regard to matters of the national-state structure within the jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR;

4) examines matters related to Article 72 of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and Article 69 of the Georgian SSR Constitution;

5) examines matters related to the application of USSR laws and executive regulations on the territory of the Georgian SSR;

6) formulates the basic orientation of internal and external political activity of the Georgian SSR;

7) approves state plans for economic and social development in the republic and the most important republic-wide programs; reviews and approves the Georgian SSR state budget; monitors the execution of plans and budget implementation, and ratifies their final reports; enters plan and budget amendments when necessary.

8) insures uniformity of legislative regulation over the entire territory of the Georgian SSR; exercises, within the jurisdictional framework of the Georgian SSR, legislative regulation of property relationships, of the organization of the economy and sociocultural construction, of

the budget and accounting system, of wages and price formation, taxation, environmental protection and utilization of natural resources, of procedure for exercising the constitutional rights, freedoms, and responsibilities of Georgian citizens, as well as in other regards;

9) interprets the laws of the Georgian SSR;

10) establishes procedure for the organization and functioning of republic and local-level organs of state power and administration;

11) determines procedure for resolving matters pertaining to the administrative-territorial structure of the Georgian SSR; establishes and changes borders and rayon apportionment of the autonomous oblasts; draws the boundaries of cities in the rayons and rayons in the cities; establishes city subordination; renames rayons, cities, rayons-in-cities, settlements, and other populated areas;

12) approves border changes for the autonomous republics; creates new rayons and cities under republic jurisdiction;

13) approves rayon subdivision; establishment of cities and rayons-in-cities; changes in the subordination of cities; naming and renaming of rayons, cities, rayons-in-cities; and the renaming of other populated areas in the autonomous republics;

14) directs the activities of local soviets of people's deputies;

15) resolves matters regarding the conduct of popular voting (referendum);

16) elects the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet;

17) elects the first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet;

18) appoints the chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers;

19) elects the Georgian SSR Committee of People's Control and Georgian SSR Supreme Court, appoints the Georgian SSR Chief State Arbiter,

20) confirms the Georgian SSR State Panel of Arbitration and the Georgian SSR Supreme Court Presidium;

21) elects the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

22) confirms the composition of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers as presented by the chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and enters changes; establishes and abolishes, as proposed by the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, ministries and state committees of the Georgian SSR;

23) regularly reviews the reports of organs formed or selected by it, and of responsible officials appointed or selected by it; decides matters on confidence in the Georgian SSR Government and in members of the government;

24) monitors observance of the Constitution of the Georgian SSR, and ensures that the constitutions and laws of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR are in conformance with those of the Georgian SSR;

25) repeals decrees and resolutions of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, directives of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and resolutions and directives of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers;

26) repeals resolutions and directives of the Councils of Ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR, as well as decisions of the soviets of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast, rayon, and city (for republic-subordinate cities) soviets of people's deputies in the event they do not conform with the Constitution and laws of the Georgian SSR;

27) sets the elections of people's deputies of the Georgian SSR and confirms the composition of the Central Electoral Commission for electing Georgian SSR people's deputies; sets elections of people's deputies of local soviets;

28) ratifies and repudiates Georgian SSR international treaties;

29) establishes Georgian SSR state awards;

30) issues declarations of amnesty for citizens convicted by Georgian SSR courts;

The Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR ratifies laws and resolutions of the Georgian SSR.

Article 105. The Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR will consist of 350 deputies, elected by electoral okrug with equal numbers of voters.

Article 106. The newly elected Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet will be convened by the former Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet not later than 2 months following the elections.

Article 107. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, upon proposal of the mandate commission selected by it, will decide matters relating to the recognition of deputies' credentials and, in the event of violation of electoral law, to the declaration of the election of certain deputies as being invalid.

The first session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet following elections is opened and conducted by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of Georgian SSR People's Deputies (prior to election of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet), and thereafter by the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy.

Article 108. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is convened annually by the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, into alternating—spring and fall—sessions.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet upon its own initiative, upon proposal of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, or of not less than one-third the composition of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as upon proposal of the supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR or Adzhar ASSR, or the Soviet of People's Deputies of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

Article 109. A session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet will consist of its meetings, and meetings of standing and other commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet conducted in the period between regular meetings.

Article 110. The right of legislative initiative in the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet belongs to the people's deputies of the Georgian SSR, the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR, the standing commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet of People's Deputies of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, the Georgian SSR Supreme Court, the Georgian SSR Chief State arbiter, and the Georgian SSR prosecutor.

The right of legislative initiative is also held by social organizations in the form of their republic-level organs and the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences.

Article 111. Draft laws and other matters introduced for review by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet will be discussed at its sessions. Draft laws and other most important matters of state may, by decision of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet—at its own initiative or upon proposal by the supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR or Adzhar ASSR—be brought up for discussion by the people.

A law or any other resolution of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet will be considered to have been adopted if a majority of people's deputies of the Georgian SSR have voted for it.

Article 112. The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is an organ accountable to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet. It organizes the work of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other authority within the framework provided for by the Georgian SSR Constitution and Georgian SSR laws.

The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, two deputy chairmen of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet—the chairmen of the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Soviet and Adzhar ASSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, chairman of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, and the chairmen of the standing commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is headed by the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Upon expiration of term of office of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet retains its authority up until the first session of the newly elected Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 113. The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) calls the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet into session;

2) organizes the preparation of session meetings of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet;

3) coordinates the activity of standing commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) provides assistance to the people's deputies of the Georgian SSR in exercising their authority and provides them necessary information;

5) organizes and conducts elections of people's deputies to the local soviets;

6) organizes the preparation and conduct of popular voting (referendums), as well as discussions by the people of Georgian SSR draft laws and other very important matters of state;

7) decides, in accordance with item 14 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, matters pertaining to the necessity of declaring martial law or a state of emergency throughout the republic or in certain localities;

8) presents Georgian SSR state awards;

9) grants Georgian SSR citizenship; decides matters of granting asylum;

10) grants pardons to citizens convicted by Georgian SSR courts;

11) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Georgian SSR to foreign countries and international organizations;

12) receives credentials and letters of recall respecting diplomatic representatives of foreign countries;

13) publishes in the Georgian and Russian languages, and for the autonomous republics and the autonomous oblast in their particular languages as well, the laws of the Georgian SSR and other resolutions adopted by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the

Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet issues decrees and adopts resolutions.

Article 114. The chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is the highest ranking responsible official in the Georgian SSR and represents the republic within the USSR and outside its borders.

The chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet from the membership of the people's deputies of the Georgian SSR by secret ballot for a term of 5 years. He may not serve more than two consecutive terms and may be recalled at any time by secret vote of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

In the event the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is relieved from his position prior to expiration of his term of office, the first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet will occupy the post until an election is conducted.

Article 115. The chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) exercises overall direction of the preparation of issues subject to the review of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet; signs Georgian SSR legislation and other resolutions into law which have been adopted by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium;

2) recommends to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet candidacies for election to the post of first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as proposals regarding the personal composition of the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

3) recommends to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet candidates for election or appointment to the posts of chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Court, and Georgian SSR Chief State arbiter;

4) renders reports to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet on the state of the republic and on important internal and external policy issues;

5) conducts negotiations and signs international agreements of the Georgian SSR;

The chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet issues instructions.

The first deputy chairman and other deputy chairmen of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet execute, by authorization of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, certain of his functions and take his place in the event he is absent or unable to exercise his obligations.

Article 116. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet elects from the membership of the people's deputies of the Georgian SSR standing commissions to draft legislation, conduct preliminary review and preparation of matters within the jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, facilitate the implementation of Georgian SSR laws and other decisions enacted by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and monitor the activities of state organs and organizations.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet appoints investigative, auditing, and other commissions on any matter when it deems such action necessary.

Article 117. Laws and other decisions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet are adopted, as a rule, following preliminary discussion of the draft laws by the appropriate standing commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Appointment and election of responsible officials to the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, Georgian SSR Supreme Court, and Georgian SSR state arbitration panels are accomplished in conjunction with the decision of the appropriate permanent commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All state and public organs, organizations, and responsible officials are obliged to respond to the requests of commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and provide them with necessary materials and documentation.

Commission recommendations are subject to mandatory review on the part of state and public organs, institutions, and organizations. The results of review and measures taken must be reported to the commissions within the time frame stipulated by them.

Article 118. A people's deputy of the Georgian SSR has the right, at sessions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, to present an inquiry to the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, to the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, to the leadership of other organs established or appointed by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, as well as to directors of union-subordinate enterprises, institutions, and organizations located within the Georgian SSR, on matters related to Georgian SSR jurisdiction. An organ or responsible official to whom such inquiry is addressed is obliged to provide an oral or written response at that session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet within 3 days.

A people's deputy of the Georgian SSR may be relieved from fulfillment of the responsibilities of his normal job for the entire period of his term of office.

A people's deputy of the Georgian SSR may not be held criminally accountable, arrested, or subject to administrative punishment or imposed judicial action without the consent of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet or,

during the interval between sessions, without the consent of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 119. The Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is elected by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet for a term of 10 years from among the field of experts in politics and law. The committee is comprised of a chairman, deputy chairman, and seven committee members, including representatives from the Abkhaz ASSR, Adzhar ASSR, and South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

Individuals selected as members of the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee may not simultaneously be members of organs whose affairs are subject to oversight of the committee.

Individuals selected to the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee operate independently in the fulfillment of their responsibilities and are subordinate only to the Constitution of the Georgian SSR.

The Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee:

1) presents, at its own initiative, or upon proposal of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR or Adzhar ASSR, its conclusions to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet with respect to conformance of acts of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and draft versions of acts, with the Constitution of the Georgian SSR;

2) presents its conclusions with respect to conformance of the constitutions and laws of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR, decrees and instructions of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and of the councils of ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR, and the decisions of local soviets of people's deputies, to the Georgian SSR Constitution and its laws.

3) presents conclusions, at its own initiative, or upon proposal of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, its presidium or chairman, of standing commissions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, or of the supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR or Adzhar ASSR, with respect to the conformance of acts of other state organs and public organizations to the Georgian SSR Constitution and its laws;

4) presents conclusions regarding violations of the Georgian SSR Constitution and Georgian SSR laws committed by the highest responsible officials of the republic.

Upon identification of an act or certain provisions of an act as being not in conformance with the Georgian SSR Constitution or its laws, the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee presents its findings to the organ which issued the act so that the transgression may be eliminated. When the committee arrives at such a conclusion, the act or its applicable provisions is suspended.

The Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee has the right to introduce proposals to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet or Georgian SSR Council of Ministers regarding the repeal of acts issued by organs or responsible officials accountable to them which are not in conformance with the Georgian SSR Constitution or its laws.

The organization and functioning of the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are determined by the USSR Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR and the Georgian SSR Law on the Georgian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Article 120. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet supervises the activities of all state organs accountable to it.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet directs the activity of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, which manages the system of the organs of people's control.

The organization and functioning of the organs of people's control are as determined by law.

Article 121. The functioning of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and its organs is determined by the Regulations of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and other Georgian SSR laws issued on the basis of the Georgian SSR Constitution.

4. That articles 164, 165, and 167 of Chapter 21, "The Court and Arbitration," be stated as follows:

Article 164. All courts in the Georgian SSR are established on the principle of election of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts and judges of city courts are elected by the appropriate higher-level soviets of people's deputies.

Judges of the Georgian SSR Supreme Court, the supreme courts of the autonomous republics, and the court of the autonomous oblast are elected by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics, and the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast, respectively.

Judges of all courts are elected for a 10-year term. People's assessors of all courts are elected for a 5-year term.

People's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are elected at assemblies of citizens at the work place or place of residence by open vote; people's assessors of higher-level courts are elected by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.

Judges and people's assessors are responsible to the organs or individuals who elected them. They are accountable to them and may be recalled in a manner as prescribed by law.

Article 165. The Georgian SSR Supreme Court is the highest judicial organ of the Georgian SSR and oversees the judicial activity of Georgian SSR courts.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Court consists of a chairman, his deputy, members, and people's assessors.

Article 167. Judges and people's assessors function independently and are subordinate only to the law.

Judges and people's assessors operate under conditions in which they may exercise their rights and obligations effectively and without hindrance. Any interference whatsoever in the activity of judges and people's assessors in their administration of justice will not be tolerated and is subject to punishment under law.

Immunity and other guarantees of independence are provided to judges and people's assessors by the Law on Status of Judges in the USSR and other legislation of the USSR and Georgian SSR.

II. That, as a result of the new wording in chapters 10, 11, and 13 of the Georgian SSR Constitution, amendments and additions be entered into articles of the Georgian SSR Constitution as follows:

I. That, in the first part of Article 74, the words "within the jurisdiction of the USSR" be followed by the words "at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

2. That Article 100 be stated as follows:

Article 100. A deputy exercises his authority, as a rule, without interrupting his normal job or official activity.

A deputy is relieved from fulfillment of his normal job or official responsibilities for the period the supreme soviets or local soviets of people's deputies are in session, as well as during the time he is exercising his authority as a deputy in other instances authorized by law. He will be reimbursed from the state or local treasury, as applicable, for expenses related to performance of his duties as deputy.

3. That the first part of Article 101 be stated as follows:

A deputy has the right to make an inquiry of appropriate state organs and responsible officials, who are then obligated to respond to the inquiry at a session of the supreme soviet or local soviet of people's deputies.

4. That the first part of Article 105 be stated as follows:

Article 105. A deputy is obliged to report on his work, and the work of the supreme soviet or local soviet of people's deputies, to the electorate, the collectives, and the public organizations which nominated him to his position.

5. That Article 124 be stated as follows:

Article 124. The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers is responsible and accountable to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The newly formed Georgian SSR Council of Ministers will present its program of planned activity to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet for review.

The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers will render a report of its activities to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet at least once each year.

6. That the first part of Article 125 be stated as follows:

The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers is authorized to decide all matters of state administration related to the jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR, insofar as they do not fall constitutionally within the competency of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet or its presidium, or of the chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

7. That Article 127 be stated as follows:

Article 127. The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers will, based on and in execution of the laws of the USSR and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, Georgian SSR laws and other decisions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, resolutions and instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers, issue resolutions and instructions, and will verify their execution. Resolutions and instructions of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the Georgian SSR.

8. That the fourth part of Article 129 be amended so as to replace the words "based on and in execution of USSR and Georgian SSR legislative acts" with "based on and in execution of the laws of the USSR and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the laws of the Georgian SSR and other decisions of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet."

9. That Article 131 be stated as follows:

Article 131.The supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR are the highest organs of state authority in these autonomous republics.

The supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR are authorized to decide all issues falling within the jurisdiction of these autonomous republics as provided in the USSR Constitution, the Georgian SSR Constitution, and the constitutions of the autonomous republics.

The chairman of the supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is accountable to the supreme soviet of that autonomous republic.

The laws of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR are adopted by the supreme soviets of these autonomous republics.

10. That Article 132 be stated as follows:

Article 132. Adoption of the constitutions of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR, introduction of amendments to them, approval of state plans for economic and social development, approval of the state budgets and reports

on their fulfillment, and the formation of accountable organs are functions carried out by the supreme soviets of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR.

The authority of the supreme soviet of an autonomous republic, of its presidium and its chairman, is determined by the constitution of the autonomous republic.

11. That the second part of Article 133 be stated as follows:

The councils of ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR and Adzhar ASSR are responsible and accountable to the supreme soviets of these autonomous republics.

12. That Article 141 be stated as follows:

Article 141. Sessions of the oblast soviet of peoples deputies, of rayon, city (except cities subordinate to rayons), and rayon-in-city soviets of people's deputies are convened by their presidiums at least four times per year.

Sessions of city (cities subordinate to rayons), settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies are convened by their chairmen at least four times per year. The work of the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast, of rayon, city, and rayon-in-city soviets of people's deputies is organized by their presidiums headed by the chairmen of the soviets; and in city (cities subordinate to rayons), settlement, and village soviets, it is organized by the chairmen of these soviets.

Local soviets of people's deputies are authorized to examine and decide at their sessions any issues falling under their jurisdiction as provided by legislation of the USSR, Georgian SSR, or appropriate autonomous republics. Enumeration of issues which are resolved exclusively at these sessions is established by the laws on the local soviets of people's deputies.

13. That the first part of Article 146 be stated as follows:

Article 146. The executive and management organs of the local soviets of people's deputies are the executive committees they elect.

14. That Article 185 be stated as follows:

Article 185. Amendments to the Constitution of the Georgian SSR are made by decision of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, approved by at least a two-thirds majority of all the people's deputies of the Georgian SSR.

Results of Supreme Soviet By-Elections Noted

PM2010100789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "30-Second Report"]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has reported to us that four people's deputies have resigned and two deputies have died.

The elections of three USSR People's Deputies were held this week to replace those who have resigned. According to preliminary data, the writer D. Pavlychko won in the No 461 Kalushskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), and N. Chepelev, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, won in the No 342 Sokulukskiy National-Territorial Okrug (Kirghizia).

The first round of voting in Voroshilovgrad Oblast's No 413 Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug gave the advantage to none of the five candidates. Yuriy Shchekochikhin, writer, scriptwriter, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer, was closest to success. According to preliminary data, he collected 48.91 percent of the votes. His rival in the runoff will be Professor Mozhayev, head of the oblast children's hospital intensive care department, who gathered 33.54 percent of the votes in the first round.

Steps To Boost Output of Cheap Goods Fail

PM1810103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[A. Protsenko "Commercial Roundup" under the "News Panorama" rubric: "Cheap Goods"]

[Text] It is better to begin with the good news: In the first half of this year Lithuania's light industry enterprises achieved a 23-fold increase (compared with the same period last year) in the production of relatively inexpensive jackets (up to R55 each) for low-income purchasers and those mentioned in special reports as "senior citizens." That would be really marvelous news, but for one thing: In the first 6 months of last year, just 1,000 jackets were produced. That means that the figure now is 23,000. However, it needs to be about ten times higher.

The first step is always the hardest, though. Judging by the reports sent to the USSR Ministry of Finance, the production of relatively inexpensive goods for elderly purchasers has at last begun to increase and not decline. The Ukraine, for example, has more than doubled its production of woollen suits costing up to R80 (32,000). Moldavia has increased production of knitwear costing up to R40 by almost four times (to 74,000), and Russia's light industry has increased its production of woollen dresses costing up to R45 by 55 times (!): The figure was 3,000—now it is 165,000. And so it goes on.

These are the first results of the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Certain Measures To Encourage the Production of Goods for the Old at Socially Low Prices" adopted in November last year.

The resolution, as you will understand, was dictated by circumstances: Light industry enterprises switching to economic accountability, cost-covering, and self-financing used any pretext to inflate their prices even for the most ordinary goods. Cheap goods began going out of production at an even faster rate. That was why the

country's government instructed the State Committee for Prices [Goskomtsen] to introduce from the beginning of this year supplements to the current wholesale prices for goods for pensioners and the underprivileged [malo-imushchiy] so as to make it advantageous for enterprises to produce even cheap goods. That measure required extra resources—and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions provided a subsidy of R150 million left over from the social insurance fund. The money was transferred to the USSR Ministry of Finance to enable it to subsidize the production of goods at socially low prices.

What did all this achieve?

Alas, virtually nothing. You could say that this was the result of the "automatic" intervention of the system whereby even the best schemes are scuppered if they conflict with the existing statutes, instructions, or simply the established style of work. First, the finance officials delayed the issue of the relevant instructions which explained the compensation procedure for losses resulting from the production of cheap goods. Second, republic light industry ministries bureaucratically hampered the execution of the government's decision on territories under their jurisdiction. Third, and most important, the enterprises themselves were in no hurry to take up the trade union subsidies even though the resolution said that all the profit from the production and sale of these goods above the previous year's level is to remain at the disposal of the enterprise, that is, it is virtually tax free.

Initially, however, light industry enterprises across the whole country asked for just R26 million out of the R150 million offered by the trade unions for this year. Then the Ukraine agreed to increase somewhat the production of goods for the underprivileged and asked for a further R11 million from the Ministry of Finance while Kirghizia asked for another R1,700,000 in addition to the R310,000 already allocated to it. So far that is all. The remaining figure of over R111 million is still in a separate account at the USSR Ministry of Finance just waiting to be claimed. True, the year isn't over yet and it may be that this subsidy will be claimed next year.

But why didn't the garment workers and shoemakers rush to produce cheap goods and add the trade union millions to their funds? The answer is simple: It still isn't beneficial to them. The supplement to wholesale prices for cheap goods (15-20 percent) produces approximately the same level of profitability as with expensive goods, that is, an identical percentage profit. But if you count in rubles rather than percentage points, it proves more advantageous to produce, say, one R500 overcoat than five R100 overcoats. The same return for less effort. And for that reason some of the increase in the production of cheap overcoats, jackets, raincoats, and suits which we mentioned at the beginning of this roundup was achieved largely by pressuring enterprises with the help of the state order.

That is one aspect of the problem. There is another. The most advantageous trade union subsidies went to those enterprises which had managed to cut their output of cheap goods to the maximum by the time the government resolution was promulgated and are only now restoring their previous production volumes, because preferential taxation is applied to growth alone. Those factories which have continued as before to manufacture cheap clothing and footwear also continue to pay **two-thirds of the profit earned by them** into the state budget. Having received a trade union subsidy for their previous volumes of output, they consequently **should also transfer two-thirds of it into the state budget.** At the same time on switching over to production of goods with an "N" (new goods) or "M" (high fashion) index producers of goods which have already gone up in price receive preferential taxation: Only 45 percent of the extra profit derived from the index (read price increase) is transferred into the budget.

That is no doubt why, judging by Goskomtsen reports, we are now sporting very new and highly fashionable clothes. While last year 38.4 percent of light industrial wares were produced with these indexes so attractive to the producers, the figure this year has reached 41.5 percent. The result is lamentable: According to the figures of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Market Conditions and Demand, 75 percent of the growth in retail commodity turnover in our country last year was due purely to higher prices. It appear that it will be no lower this year.

In conversation with light industry enterprise specialists I constantly heard about the "other way" of providing incentives to produce goods with socially low prices. But before you establish subsidies you need to introduce preferential taxation for enterprises producing such goods.

Another thing is also well known: To stop the "erosion" of the cheap product range you need to impose a higher tax on the production of expensive goods. This opinion is held by many USSR Finance Ministry specialists. However, it works out differently in practice: The intention is to continue encouraging the production of expensive-indexed goods in the new year. While the production of cheap goods will rely on subsidies which, practice has shown, have not generated any particular enthusiasm among producers. The upshot is that only only 63,000 raincoats costing less than R65, only 102,000 pairs of woollen trousers costing under R23, and only 270,000 overcoats and short coats at under R100 were manufactured in the first half of this year, yet garment workers did manage to manufacture expensive collars.

And yet another detail: Our trade network is unable for some reason even to sell the cheap goods already manufactured for the elderly to the people who specially need them. The network of "Veteran" stores being established has not yet been able to find a common language with the local social welfare authorities nor an acceptable way of distributing these products to those with low incomes.

Moreover, quite a large proportion of the goods end up in ordinary stores, where they first produce a mad scramble and then become an object of speculation.

Newly Formed Labor Organization Described

904F0012A Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview by reporter A Kozlov with V.A. Yarin, USSR people's deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and rolling mill operator at the Nizhnyy Tagil Metallurgical Combine, and V.M. Yakushev, docent at the Academy of the National Economy under the USSR Council of Ministers, candidate of philosophical sciences, and cochairman of the United Russian Workers' Front, entitled: "We Are Protecting the Workers' Interests"]

[Text] I heard that a new organization has appeared—the United Russian Workers' Front. I would like to know more about it. Orel. A. Malyshev, builder.

In a conversation with our correspondent the cochairmen of the United Russian Workers' Front, USSR People's Deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a rolling mill operator at the Nizhnyy Tagil metallurgical combine, V.A. Yarin, and a docent at the Academy of the National Economy under the USSR Council of Ministers, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.M. Yakushev discuss the new organization. As we can see, their statements are not indisputable and the provisions of the United Russian Workers' Front program evoke ambiguous, sometimes extreme evaluations. While publishing this interview the editors are hoping that the readers will also express their attitudes toward this problem.

[Kozlov] What brought about the creation of yet another informal organization?

[Yarin] Restructuring has been going on for 5 years now and it has enriched us a great deal spiritually and liberated us, but, unfortunately, so far it has not done enough materially for the simple person. Workers and pensioners are not living any better; things are worse for them. More than 45 million Soviet people are living in abject poverty. There are the empty shelves of the stores, the unrestrained growth of prices, inflation, speculation. And coupon distribution... At the same time the people see how the bigwigs of the shadow economy and the pseudocooperators are getting rich. And all this has not only not encountered enough resistance but there are even influential supporters of such "democratic" changes in the society. As a result the simple person is more and more frequently asking the question: Why are there more and more difficulties for those who are working honestly at state enterprises? And there are many other "whys." And there are no clear answers to them. And the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies did not provide them either. So in many collectives there is growing dissatisfaction and spontaneous protest is being manifested in various forms, right down to strikes. Therefore the workers are taking the responsibility for the restructuring on themselves and joining together to protect their own interests...

[Yakushev] Without spreading it on too thick, one must, however, admit that the situation really is becoming critical. The shadow economy has gathered steam and is breaking out from the underground where it has spent so many years. Today it already controls more than 150 billion rubles—one-fourth of the national income. According to certain sources, the number of millionaires has passed 100,000. The society is rapidly being divided into the rich and the poor.

Certain ideologists are more active than ever, trying through the media to glorify the value of the bourgeois way of life—from luxury to the division of people into the elite and the obedient majority. Is this not a paradox?! During the years of stagnation many of them developed Marxism so "creatively" that from a total revolutionary theory they managed to make an impoverished list of quotations, a set of dogmas suitable "for all cases" in life. Now, giving their own interpretation of perestroyka, they intend to bury Marxism completely so that nothing will stand in the way of their duping the working man, passing expenditures off as results, elitist parliamentarianism for popular rule, bourgeois democracy for working democracy, and so forth. They are waging an ideological-political attack on the values of socialism on a broad front. Enough forces are participating in this in the form of many informal organizations and even certain parliamentarians. Here it is expedient to adhere to a policy of discrediting the Leninist party, the entire socialist state, and the entire planned economy; they are deliberately confusing the healthy forces of the party with the disruptive ones, the healthy state organs with the bureaucratic ones, and the healthy foundations of the economy with those that must be changed. This was noted at the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. And we share this alarm.

[Yarin] In essence all these phenomena have become the "impetus" for the creation of the United Russian Workers' Front. Our movement began and is developing from below. All discussion of the notion that the United Russian Workers' Front was "created by the apparatus" is nothing more than fabrication on the part of those who wish to discredit the worker movement. The fact that it is gathering force shows that this is not the result of "apparatus games" but a deep-seated movement of the masses. And if it does not meet the interests of the workers they will hardly support it, it will die out, and no apparatus will be able to help it.

[Kozlov] Who are united by the United Russian Workers' Front and what is its task?

[Yakushev] It is written in our organization's charter that the United Russian Workers' Front can accept everyone who provides food and drink, footwear, and clothing for the people, who teaches, heals, and protects

them, who conducts scientific research and organizes production, who is concerned about the cultural development of the peoples of Russia, who is alarmed by the growing political and social tension in the society, who is against narrow group interests and the opposition of the workers to the intelligentsia, the workers of various nationalities to one another, the aggressive enrichment of one part of the society at the expense of another, concealed and overt growth of prices, the onslaught of organized crime, and the spread of thievery and corruption. In my opinion this formula tells of those who can be included in the United Russian Workers' Front and also the front's tasks. I can add only that our goal is not only a criticism of shortcomings. The United Russian Workers' Front has what seems to be a clear position and a program of concrete actions regarding many serious problems.

[Kozlov] For example? How, for instance, do you assess the current economic situation?

[Yakushev] We think we have to reorient the economy using value indicators as indicators reflecting the level of satisfaction of the demands of the population and the society as a whole, the savings on labor, and the improvement of the quality of the goods that are produced (consumer-value indicators). It is necessary to establish a direct dependency between the growth of labor productivity (reduction of labor-intensiveness) and the rise of the standard of living of the workers. It is also important to create an effective mechanism for distribution according to labor on the basis of competition and economically accountable stimulation of all-around savings on labor expenditures, price reduction, and improvement of product quality...

[Yarin] What is happening to economic accountability today? We have been convinced that economic accountability is a panacea for many economic problems. But it will not bring salvation, although more and more new models of it are appearing: the first, the second, the third... We have been assured that the next one will be "the one" that we need. But when the test comes—again nothing but words. Now they are talking about the next model—the fourth. They say that the enterprises must be turned over to the labor collectives. But what if the idea fails to work again? What then? A changeover to private ownership? Capitalism? Is this not the variant to which certain economists are pushing us?

[Kozlov] And what is your organization's attitude toward processes in the trade union movement?

[Yarin] The 6th Plenum of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council] adopted some necessary decisions approved by people of labor today—decisions directed toward consolidating the forces of the workers in perestroyka and stepping up the activity of the trade unions—and they presented a principled opinion of the problems that are bothering people. It was at this plenum that one heard the appeal to workers to join forces for the protection of their rights and interests. We agree with this position of the AUCCTU.

The strike movement—we regard it as a political action of the working class—raised a question for the trade unions: whom are they with—with the workers or with those who are trying to live on others' labor? By the decisions of the 6th AUCCTU Congress the trade unions gave a clearcut and concrete answer—they will protect the interests of the workers.

The plenum spoke out against the growth of prices and the deterioration of the standard of living of the workers and demanded that workers of state enterprises and cooperatives be placed in equal conditions. The plenum voted in favor of having elections to local soviets be conducted in production-territorial okrugs, that is, bringing the masses closer to the management of the state and providing for their real influence on the course of the country's political and economic life...

We see that today's active position of the trade unions evokes irritating attacks that are "nonparliamentary" in form and content from those who would like to restructure our lives according to the formulas and "advice" of bourgeois ideologists and "well-wishers."

An active campaign of attacks is being waged against our organization. We did not manage to complete the founding congress before the mass media began to accuse us of rejecting perestroyka, advocating stagnation, protecting the apparatus, and so forth. But when we began to suggest that the mass media give us the opportunity to tell about the new organization of workers and the goals and tasks of the United Russian Workers' Front, with rare exceptions we received refusals. There is your pluralism...

[Yakushev] I would especially like to discuss the proposals for holding elections according to the production territorial principle. We think that today this is one of the most significant questions in the workers' struggle for their rights.

What happens with the current procedure for elections? The candidates are nominated by the labor collective but they are voted on in the territorial electoral okrug where they are little known. And the advantage is received not necessarily by the most worthy one but by the one who has organized his election campaign best, the one who has the support of the mass media, the one who speaks most skillfully and is most generous with promises.

[Kozlov] In certain press organs suggestions about elections according to the production-territorial principle are frequently called an "apparatus" plan. They say that this guarantees the apparatus a path to the local soviets...

[Yarin] If a representative of the "apparatus" were nominated by the labor collective on an alternative basis and were elected to the soviet by a secret vote, what is wrong with that? After all the essence is to place an authority apparatus created during the course of the

elections in the service of the workers and under their control. And can individual residents of the region who do not work together really control this work well? The current soviets are the best example of this. It is not only that today's apparatus frequently encroaches on the interest of the people but also certain of its representatives frequently grow together with mafia forces who influence their work with all kinds of bribes...

[Yakushev] Through the territorial-production okrugs one can nominate not only workers and kolkhoz [collective farm] workers but also lawyers, scholars, managers, writers, and so forth. This principle of elections also provides a good opportunity to exercise in practice the right to recall those deputies whose actions diverge from their pre-election promises and those who have compromised themselves. In a labor collective this problem can be resolved much more simply and competently than in the place of residence.

[Kozlov] But must the residents of the microrayon have their own representatives in the soviets? In your opinion, how should they participate in the elections? What about workers of small collectives?

[Yakushev] This is easily regulated. For instance, half of the deputies could be elected by the labor collectives and half by the citizens in their place of residence. People will say that again here we have unequal rights: some people will have two votes and others only one. And there is no question here. Everyone can choose for himself in which okrug to vote. For instance, first the elections are conducted in the production-territorial okrugs and then the lists of voters are turned over to the territorial okrugs where they remove the names of those who have already voted. Perhaps there would be some point in forming two chambers in the local soviets: the soviet of labor collectives and the soviet of residents of electoral okrugs.

[Yarin] It is time to clarify the slogan "All power to the soviets!" Which soviets? Without workers and peasants? Or even without communists? History reminds us of such things... Will certain opponents of elections from labor collectives not strive to get into these soviets?

[Kozlov] But who can be a member of your front? And what are the basic forms of its work?

[Yarin] The membership in the United Russian Workers' Front is collective. That is, any sociopolitical movement of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] which recognizes our charter and is actively working to carry out the front's tasks can be a member of the front. This is putting it briefly. As concerns the forms of our work, they are extremely varied. We support initiatives directed toward improvement of people's lives (as, for example, with the decisions of the 6th AUCCTU Plenum), we contribute to control from below over all spheres of social life, and we provide for extensive participation of workers in the consideration of the draft laws of the RSFSR and other acts brought up for public discussion, we create problem groups and commissions for independent expert evaluations, and we conduct sociopolitical measures: rallies, demonstrations, roundtables, seminars, and so forth.

[Kozlov] And the last question. What are the relations of the United Russian Workers' Front with other informal social organizations?

[Yarin] We are prepared to adopt everything constructive from both the "left" and the "right," everything that can serve the interests of the workers. I myself, for example, am a member of the interregional deputy group and have gleaned a good deal that is useful by attending its meetings. Our front is prepared for dialogue with various sociopolitical movements, again if this dialogue is on behalf of the workers. But, unfortunately, dialogue frequently does not come about, and it is not our fault.

For example, at our founding congress in Sverdlovsk we gave USSR people's deputies from the interregional group the chance to express their viewpoint on various questions of the sociopolitical life of the country. But when members of the United Russian Workers' Front tried to provide information at the meeting of the interregional deputy group in that same place, Sverdlovsk, they were simply not given the floor.

We are against confrontations and we are in favor of working together to discover the truth and solve the painful problems of our life and our perestroyka....

Public Protests at Chemical Weapons Plant

PM1910151389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 p 2

[Correspondent I. Virabov report under the rubric "Situation": "Barrier. It Was Erected by the People of Chapayevsk To Protect Their City"]

[Text] Kuybyshev Oblast—People were cooking potatoes. They were watching movies or hurrying home from work. Some people had gone to bed. What else? Window frames and panes of glass were quivering with the everyday thunder from the "Polimer" plant. The curious local fog was creeping through the streets from the other side of town.

The people of Chapayevsk were peacefully whiling away the evening in their different ways.

No one was thinking about Geneva.

Geneva Knows About Chapayevsk

But meanwhile Chapayevsk was being discussed in Geneva.

Suspecting nothing, Sergey Sirik, "Soviet power," or in other words the recently elected mayor of the city, was working late at the office, dealing with "little-league" politics.

But over there in Geneva, at the negotiating table, people were implementing "big-league" politics.

And "over there" they already knew something about Chapayevsk that people in Chapayevsk themselves did not know. At last the "Vremya" program reported the latest news from Geneva, and a state secret was revealed to Comrade Sirik and the city's other residents: A special facility—a plant for the destruction of chemical weapons, had been constructed right next door to them and was just about to be commissioned. The first-ever such plant. Without counterpart.

A little place in history had been prepared for Chapayevsk. You could put it more strongly—the city was to be a kind of rubicon in the sacred cause of disarmament. Maybe its name would become a byword, a symbol, like Picasso's dove.

Truth to tell, this thought warmed Sergey Sirik's heart. Do the Russians want war? Of course not.

Nevertheless, a "war" began. Instead of disarming before the eyes of the whole world, the city residents rose up in arms. Against the peacemaking plant, against the long-awaited government decision, against the interests of progressive mankind. A coordination council against the commissioning of the plant whose members included the city's party and soviet leaders emerged. The council was headed by... City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom] Chairman Sergey Sirik!

...If anyone had ever told me that a single news item, even if it came from Geneva, could drive a whole city, 90,000 people, crazy, I would not have believed it for anything.

I have never seen a city that looks like this. Chapayevsk is a city with the face of someone driven into a corner. With dark circles round his eyes.

"People came to see us in droves. They were prepared to give us everything they had. An old woman brought half her pension, she'd kept enough for bread and milk, and tried to persuade us to take the money for the common cause, for the fighting fund against the new plant." Aleksandr Orlov, chairman of the worker group to monitor the plant for the destruction of chemical weapons, recounted.

"We live in a dying city," residents wrote to Moscow. They wrote no more than the truth. "Dying." Terrible to relate, this is not a metaphor. Chapayevsk is experiencing negative population growth. The death rate is higher than the birth rate. And among the births there are too many children with congenital abnormalities. The incidence of cancers is almost double the rate for the oblast. There is a shortage of hospitals and doctors. For instance, there is not a single neuropathologist in the entire city!

Anyhow, there is a shortage of everything! Schools, kindergartens, housing, stores.

Chapayevsk is unique. Not everywhere will you encounter barbed wire along the central streets. You'll find it here. The city is cut in half by a railroad line along which trains carrying dangerous substances trundle day and night. Everything is very compact. Apartment blocks are next to institutions. And then, without a safety zone, powerful production facilities. An acid production facility, with sulfur dioxide, nitric oxide, mercury... On the other side an asphalt concrete production unit, then a chemical fertilizer plant with chlorine and caustic soda... I could go on...

I remember how a large group of economic managers followed me into the office of N. Maltsev, first secretary of the party city committee [gorkom], and an investigation of an incident on the railroad began: The previous day two chlorine tankers had jumped the track and had almost overturned. They managed to prevent an accident!

...How many such investigations had there been? In February a bag of highly sensitive explosive was "lost" on the track. The car which ran over the bag was blown to bits and coupler Yu. Kvasov was killed. This was practically in the middle of the city...

An accident at the "Polimer" acid production unit this year almost led to an explosion. There have been four explosions over the last 4 years. The number of victims was formerly kept secret, but it's a small place, everyone knows everyone else, everyone can count, everyone can see who's missing...

What about the new plant! To be blunt, the plant itself is not the point. It is just that the fuse had burned its way to the powder.

"Listen to us!" came the explosion of letters.

An offer was made to them: We'll provide you with plenty of meat and sausage so long as you leave the new plant in peace. They refused.

"Big-league politics" has not come to Chapayevsk only just now from Geneva. They had been working for big-league politics, for big ideas for decades... Now they had reached the end of their tether, they had snapped.

City of "Informals"?

Viktor Kozhevnikov fell silent for a while, then suddenly remarked, apparently apropos of nothing: "Anyhow, personally I have no intention of leaving." He was sitting in his chair. In his office as director of Agricultural Vocational and Technical School 15. He looked nothing like an "extremist." He is proud of the apples from his own orchard—there is a bowlful in the corner. He tells me about hikes—the whole school to the Volga. He's proud of the kids' sporting successes. A good-natured man. Certainly not a militant director.

But the desk is covered in placards and leaflets. And there is a megaphone in the corner. At the city soviet session discussing the ecological situation in Chapayevsk, when everyone was complaining about the selfishness and impunity of the departments but in general was not inclined to lay it on thick or to propose anything

specific, Kozhevnikov could not stand it and reasonably remarked: "If you can't fight the ministries, let us, the public, help you."

That was enough to gain him the reputation of an "extremist" and "militant dilettante"...

Fuel was added to the flames by "Only Glasnost"—the article by Ye. Orlova in CHAPAYEVSKIY RABOCHIY about the new plant for the destruction of chemical weapons containing sarin and lethal gases.

The people of Chapayevsk, who know all about flue gases, accidents, explosions, and production tests, read that issue of the paper until it fell to pieces. And there was a rumpus: Save us from this misfortune, certainly let's disarm, but do so somewhere else. We are already living in a minefield. There is literally nothing to breathe.

There was no more quiet life for the authorities—the gorispolkom and the party gorkom. An action group coalesced around Kozhevnikov. The ecological movement was called "Initiative."

"Initiative" was demanding guarantees of the city residents' safety. Officers made the rounds of labor collectives and tried to persuade them that the plant is harmless and technologically beyond reproach. Commissions arrived. It's an ecologically clean production unit, they said. Then they made a clarification: "barring accidents."

What if there is an accident?

Vyacheslav Solovyev, chief of the facility, repeatedly argued with Kozhevnikov until he was hoarse: "Where are you going to find any production unit with a 100-percent guarantee precluding any kind of accidents?"

The argument cut no ice. Experience of life had suggested otherwise to the people of Chapayevsk. Letters were sent to Moscow—33,500 signatures, then another 16,000.

The residents of Chapayevsk were supported by the people of Kuybyshev—by many labor collectives. By August a decision had emerged—unless the plant was closed, enterprises in Chapayevsk would go on strike, and people in Kuybyshev and Tolyatti's VAZ motor plant were ready to act...

Is it easy to dissociate yourself from the informals when the entire population are "informals"? There was no choice. The party gorkom and the gorispolkom made the only correct decision: They supported and headed the movement. A city soviet session in May adopted an unprecedented decision—to prohibit the commissioning of the plant! Then the coordination council emerged; it included on equal terms (let us emphasize that!) "Initiative" and soviet and party workers.

All the same, it is no accident that Kozhevnikov said that he was not going anywhere. After all, many of Chapayevsk's former leaders have left just recently. They have found cleaner places. They have done their stuff here.

But Kozhevnikov wants to grow apples. Is that any reason to reproach him?

Then suddenly it was all over. Just as abruptly and convulsively as the 9 months of resistance in Chapayevsk had begun.

The third government commission arrived. A party-economic aktiv meeting was convened.

"We simply could not believe our ears," Valentina Smolina, secretary of the chemical fertilizer plant All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League committee, told me. "A USSR Council of Ministers instruction was read out to us: The facility is to be converted into a training center to rehearse on inert substances techniques for destroying chemical weapons and to train cadres for work at similar facilities..."

...The pickets were the last to learn of all this. For a month two camps had been "besieging" the plant on the Chapayevsk side and on the Bezenchuk side. Now this. People in Chapayevsk were already rejoicing. Then something unforeseen happened.

The pickets did not believe it: There is something fishy about it. They marched to Chapayevsk. Another explosion. More rallies. Demonstrations. "We are being fooled!"

It was not easy to extinguish this last explosion. The only way to reassure people was to say that the worker group to monitor the plant would continue its work, and not so much as a fly, let alone a shell, would get past without its knowledge.

Colonel Solovyev is also tired. Everyone is exhausted by the 9 months of strain.

"I can understand them in human terms," he says, wiping his forehead. "I realize that the voice of the public must be heeded. But what about science? What about professionals? What will happen if people stop having any faith in them at all? If everything is decided at rallies?"

There is some truth in the colonel's words. I think that the main point lies in this division: There is truth on both sides. Each side has its own politics. Big-league and little-league. And we must realize: One is impossible without the other. Perestroyka set the task of rousing people. It has roused them. And now nothing can be decided without them.

Can the majority ignore the minority? Can a big truth ignore a little truth? And can big-league politics ignore politics of lesser significance?

The order from the country's Council of Ministers explained everything: The decision had been made "in the light of public opinion." But why was it not taken into account in good time, before it revolted? One day Colonel Solovyev gave the pickets a valuable book—"Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction." He—and I repeat, I can understand him—believed in his plant. But by then the people of Chapayevsk deserved gifts of a different sort....

Nuclear-Powered Lighter Ends First Trip

LD1810205389 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Murmansk October 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov:

The lighter carrier Sevmorput, the first Soviet transport vessel with a nuclear power plant, proved its ability to navigate ice bound areas. Built in the Crimea the ship made an almost around-the-world run, arriving today in Murmansk, its port of registration.

On the way to Murmansk the lighter carrier made several cargo deliveries in the eastern sector of the Arctic and delivered large consignments of cargoes from the USSR to ports in Vietnam and Democratic Korea.

The ice navigation capabilities of the huge transport ship (it is 260 meters long) were demonstrated when it navigated thick ice in the Vilkitskiy Strait.

The chief engineer of the Murmansk shipping line for nuclear-powered fleet, Aleksandr Sinyayev, told TASS that several foreign firms want the ship to make trans-Arctic deliveries in the summer and winter.

Economic

Abalkin Says Economy 'Continues To Deteriorate'

LD1610200189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 16 October broadcasts a 30-minute program on a meeting between members of VOPROSY EKONOMIKI magazine editorial office and a studio audience. Economist Gavril Popov opens the meeting by presenting the panelists to the audience.

In an introductory speech, Leonid Abalkin says: "Time is the main problem today. It is the greatest, the most complex, and the most difficult problem to solve. The thing is that time works against the reforms that have begun. Each year, each month, or each week that passes means a waste of time, a loss of confidence, and a decline in the hope for a possible improvement, because the economic situation, which is already hard enough, continues to deteriorate.

"No breakthrough has come about in this area and time is passing. Time requires that one should take some measures of an extraordinary and unusual nature in order to stop the process that is on a downhill trend in many ways. We cannot live at the pace of current decisions; we have to think of tomorrow; we have to think of what stages and steps are to lead us—in 5 or 7 years—toward a model of socialist economy, a market oriented economy, to a considerable degree, on which we are pinning great expectations, and to go over to it."

Abalkin concludes his brief speech by stressing the importance of professional managerial cadres within the economy.

Abalkin is followed by the panel answering questions from members of the audience. To a question of whether the terms capitalist and socialist economy are still valid, Abalkin says that in our days boundaries between capitalist and socialist economies are less defined and in many respects both systems overlap.

Asked to give his definition of socialism, P.G. Bunich, USSR people's deputy and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Issues of Economic Reform, elaborates on the principle of the alienation of property. Bunich cites leasing and buyouts as possible ways out.

O.I. Ozherelyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department and doctor of economic sciences, explains why perestroyka is a real revolution.

A member of the audience asks about the need for nationwide discussion and referendums before making important decisions. Abalkin says that public opinion is no guarantee because it can often be very reactionary and conservative. Any law is always a compromise, Abalkin says, and adds that one of the faults of our lawmaking mechanism is the absence of forecasting the consequences.

V.K. Sechagov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, speaks about the problem of republican economic independence and price formulation. He says that a decision has been made to postpone the introduction of new retail prices for 2-3 years.

Answering another question, Senchagov says that state monitoring of private investment is not a bad idea, as foreign experience shows, and a system of income declarations should be finally introduced. The government seems to be preparing to raise interest rates for private investments, Senchagov adds.

B.Z. Milner, doctor of economic sciences, answers a question on industrial management. He is followed by B.V. Rakitskiy, doctor of economic sciences, who elaborates on the validity of economic indices.

Popov winds up the discussion by speaking about structural changes in the national economy.

Abalkin Explains Wage Tax Legislation

904A0023A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 41, 14-20 Oct 89 pp 1-3

[Interview with deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Academician L.I. Abalkin by N. Zhelnorova: "The Medicine Happens To Be Bitter"; date, place, and occasion not specified]

[Text] [Zhelnorova] Leonid Ivanovich, you are aware of the sharp criticism which the progressive taxation of growing incomes proposed by the government and adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet is now drawing. Many people view it as a device to "freeze" remunerations for labor. What is the ultimate motive for adopting it?

[Abalkin] No "freeze" of the monetary income of the populace and remunerations for labor is planned. Talk about this is due either to the failure to understand the issue or to the deliberate disinformation of the public. The draft plan for 1990 submitted by the government to the USSR Supreme Soviet provides for the growth of monetary income by 10 percent, including the growth of wages by 5.7 percent.

As far as the idea of taxation is concerned, its main objective is to slow down inflation, keep the rate of growth of incomes within the bounds envisaged (thus far, we have not been successful at that), and thus stabilize the consumer goods market.

The choice of the base of taxation and the system of preferences is also important in principle. In the course of work on the draft, the question was discussed of whether to tax the increment in the wage fund or the increment in the average wage. We opted for the wage fund. If the enterprise reduces the number of employees, the average wage increases without any taxation. This provides a very powerful incentive for increasing labor productivity and streamlining production.

The entire increment of wages due to expanding the production of consumer goods and services, construction and repairs of housing and facilities in the sociocultural sphere has been relieved of the tax burden. Tap any reserves for expanding the production of consumer goods, and then the entire increment in remuneration for labor will be yours, tax free.

[Zhelnorova] Thus, those who do not produce consumer goods will objectively be put at a disadvantage?

[Abalkin] Indeed, this is true. However, we are in a situation when we can make everyone "both healthy and rich." We should set our priorities clearly and provide material support for social reorientation in the economy. At present, what is being done for the people is a priority. Ultimately, the "A" group which we used to make a priority for many decades will have to wait a little. Even now the wages there are higher than in light and the food industries. We live in an environment in which the situation deteriorates from one month to the next, and there is no way out of it that is easy and pleasant for everyone.

[Zhelnorova] Was the opinion of practitioners taken into account?

[Abalkin] Dozens of opinions and points of view were taken into account. However, making a decision which absolutely everyone would like is unrealistic, all the more so because an unpopular and quite strict decision had to be made. However, when someone is sick he needs to take some medicine. It can be bitter; one does not want to take it, but he has to.

[Zhelnorova] Were the consequences of such taxation taken into account when it was adopted, was a model of the situation built?

[Abalkin] The immediate and remote consequences of every law need to be taken into account when it is adopted. The peculiarity of the present tax system is in the fact that this is an emergency measure whose time span is strictly limited to 15 months. The main point which needed to be projected was: Is the system capable of containing the thus far uncontrollable growth of the monetary income or not? A model of the development of events in 1989 was compiled, and instead of the ratio of labor productivity and the average wage the tax was plugged into it. So this model showed that the current growth of monetary income would not be happening if the tax on the increment of the remuneration fund were introduced!

[Zhelnorova] It sounds somewhat strange that we are not happy with the growth of the monetary income of the populace but, quite the opposite, combat it.

[Abalkin] Money is only necessary when one can buy something with it, whereas when the store shelves are empty.... Besides, the growth of monetary income not supported by the corresponding production of goods and services is not as innocent as it might seem. This growth is the cause of inflation, the cause of the emptying of the store shelves

[Zhelnorova] The main goal of taxation is to combat inflation. However, the inflation rate in our country is 8 percent whereas the threshold of the scale of taxation is 3 percent. Therefore, it is not going to "make much of a dent" in inflation.

[Abalkin] Inflation consists of two components: An increase in prices and in incomes not covered by the deliveries of goods. At present, the rate of inflation is influenced to a greater degree by the growth of income not covered by the deliveries of goods. The price level in this case is a derivative value and reflects an imbalance in the market during which prices will grow, be it openly or in a hidden manner. This is the case throughout the world. The more money there is in circulation the higher

the prices are, rather than the other way around. This is why we are trying to influence the cause rather than the consequence.

[Zhelnorova] Can some negative consequences of such taxation occur?

[Abalkin] If we are going to be persistent and hold fast, then the goal set which I have referred to above will be achieved. Eventual negative consequences are eliminated to a considerable degree by the system of preferences. We provide tax exemptions for the most important pursuit, production of consumer goods and services.

We have tried to put in operation economic devices (among which the tax belongs) in deeds rather than words in order to thus prompt the enterprises to meet the needs of the people: Increase the output of foodstuffs, clothing, shoes, furniture, the construction of housing, cinemas, hospitals, schools, and so forth. All individuals employed in the production of such goods and services are exempt from paying the tax on the increment of the labor remuneration fund. The potential for the commissioning of new enterprises and facilities has also been taken into account.

There is one more aspect which is not taken into account by many opponents. As extensive as it is, the law affects a minor share of the populace. After all, a tremendous number of people in our country have fixed incomes which do not increase at all, such as retirees and scholarship recipients, physicians and teachers, clerical employees and workers receiving hourly wages. They are not protected in any manner while the incomes of other groups of the populace grow unchecked, which boosts inflation, creates shortages, and causes the spontaneous growth of prices. The consequences of inflation affect the unprotected groups with particular severity. Thus, by containing the growth of incomes (I stress once again, those not associated with the production of consumer goods and services for the populace) we contain the rate of inflation in the country, which should be a favorable factor for the entire populace of our country.

[Zhelnorova] Why then this sharp rejection of the scale on the part of some enterprises?

[Abalkin] In part, due to the failure to grasp the essence of the matter, in part due to improper claims. We also encounter elements of peculiar group egoism because measures aimed at defending the interests of the entire populace collide with the desire to increase the monetary income of individual groups or collectives in any way possible.

[Zhelnorova] On what calculations was the proposal of a 3- percent level based?

[Abalkin] This level which determines the tax-exempt increment of the labor remuneration fund coincides with the growth rates of prices and is called upon to maintain the attained level of real wages.

[Zhelnorova] Will this tax not hit exactly the active segment of the populace which could increase labor productivity, but will not do so because it is nonsensical: The better you work the more tax you pay?

[Abalkin] This is not a blow because nobody is about to reduce the attained level of labor remuneration. However, its further growth is going to proceed within certain bounds. They provide for even the collectives which do not produce consumer goods being able to generate additional incomes above 3 percent as well; however, in the process they will have to pay taxes with the help of which the state will protect the low-income categories of the populace.

[Zhelnorova] You are proposing to prevent the growth of incomes. However, billions of rubles not covered by the delivery of goods, which have been made rightfully or wrongfully, are already in the consumer market, and they are mighty competition for the fresh incomes!

[Abalkin] As specialists estimate, the unsatisfied demand accumulated up to the present amounts to about R100 billion. We sometimes refer to the difference between the supply in the consumer market and the the volume of monetary income as the "jaws of a shark." In our country, the "jaws of a shark" are opening. However, before the jaws are brought together the further opening of the jaws needs to be stopped. This is why we have to break the unfavorable trend first and arrest the further growth of the deficit. Only on this basis will it become possible to pay the debt accumulated step by step.

[Zhelnorova] How soon can we stabilize the market?

[Abalkin] It will be good if we manage to eliminate the entire burden of problems accumulated in the past within 5 to 6 years. However, a tremendous effort will be required in order to accomplish this. Solving all problems within a year and a half is unrealistic. However, we must make a start. As they say, only the first step is difficult.

The stabilization of the market will proceed in three directions: containing the growth of income, expanding the supply of goods and services, and tying up the already available monetary income in order to channel it away from the current consumer goods market. This may be accomplished through issuing securities (shares, bonds, loans), the sale of apartments as personal property, expansion of cooperative construction, land leases.... As is clear from the above, the tax proposed does not only accomplish the first part of the program but also facilitates accomplishing the second one—it will help fill the market with goods (along with other measures).

[Zhelnorova] But, Leonid Ivanovich, it is the repeatedly criticized principle "from the base achieved" that has become the base of taxation. As a result, those making R250 and R600 will not face the same conditions.

[Abalkin] We should reckon with reality and prevent a decline in the standard of living achieved even in the course of introducing emergency measures. We are not moving in on "the base achieved" but contain and adjust the further growth of income in the coming 15 months.

[Zhelnorova] Where will this chain be broken in which some links (enterprises) produce subcontracted products, and others produce consumer goods using them? The former pay the tax, and the latter do not....

[Abalkin] This was one of the most complex issues, and we did not manage to find an ideal answer to it. Every producer has his own suppliers; for every product, there are its own subcontracted parts. This happens along the entire chain. We could not stop until we got to the ore. We had to either give up the tax, or establish priority industries which work directly for the benefit of man.

What is to be done at present? Say a collective produces household appliances; it may substantially increase their production, earn and receive more money, but it cannot do this due to the absence of subcontracted parts. There is a way out. It may transfer a segment of the labor remuneration fund or the financial incentives fund to its suppliers so as to also get them interested in additional production. At issue here is our ability to operate not only "along the vertical line of command" (demand and "squeeze out" allocations, quotas, and financial resources), as we are used to, but also on "a horizontal plane." It is time to learn about commercial relations with your partners. The subcontracted products may be paid for in the deliveries of some above-plan products. In a word, you must hustle and scout out the possibilities.

[Zhelnorova] Will the scale introduced influence the development of lease relations? Will it suffocate them?

[Abalkin] Even if it contains them, then only insignificantly. All of leasing in agriculture is not subject to the system of taxation because the production of crop farming and animal husbandry is equated with that of consumer goods. The same is the case in the sphere of services and consumer goods, and it is right here that leasing mainly develops. Leasing in heavy industry is in its initial stages; it may slow down. However, there is a way out even here: Reducing the number of personnel, the output of consumer goods. [Zhelnorova] Will enterprises not be able to increase their wages even under such taxation due to their internal accumulation?

[Abalkin] Yes, pursuant to the norms in effect they may tap such accumulation for increasing labor remunerations. Let them do so, however, while at the same time participating through the taxes in the social support for the strata of the populace which cannot do this: Families with many children, retirees, and so on. In a word, the funds accumulated can be "eaten up." However, they can be saved from the strict tax vise and, say, used instead to purchase bonds yielding 5 percent in interest a year and carried until 1991 when we switch to a new system of taxation. Calculate what is more advantageous for you and opt for either avenue.

[Zhelnorova] Will the scale influence unfavorably the development of joint enterprises?

[Abalkin] From the strategic point of view, it is to the benefit of joint enterprises. At present, foreign partners are greatly concerned about our financial situation, the ability of the government to manage the crisis or the lack thereof. When they witness serious measures for improving the market, this commands respect for us and increases our reliability as a partner.

[Zhelnorova] How do you explain the stormy response to the unified system of taxation by the trade unions?

[Abalkin] As I see it, trade unions are not the issue. Besides, we should not confuse tens of millions of trade union members with the functionaries of trade union committees. We should take a broader view of the problem. In our country, a left-radical school actually exists which demands that perestroyka be carried out rapidly, resolutely, frequently without regard for the actual situation. Frequently this is exactly where the main danger for the cause of perestroyka is seen.

However, mounting difficulties and nostalgia for the past have brought about the formation of a right-conservative alliance of social forces. In many regards, it is directed against the reform as such, partly in opposition to the left radicals and partly as an independent movement. The adherents of this school are in favor of returning to old methods. They appeal to the feelings of the masses, flirt with the working class, pass themselves off as its only adherents and advocates, and often exploit the ethnic feelings of the Russian people. This alliance is growing stronger: it poses a very serious threat to perestroyka. Many trade union functionaries have been drawn into this array of forces wittingly or unwittingly.

At issue here are not the trade unions as a public organization on the whole but the functionaries of the apparatus which has been taken over by the state to a considerable degree. At present, it is this very apparatus that distributes "goods in short supply" among enterprises, thus securing for itself the control over a channel of access to preferences and privileges which even the state apparatus did not have.

At present, not one sociopolitical event in our country can be considered without taking into account the forthcoming elections in our political structures: The soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol. Some people are already beginning to play into the hands of the most conservative attitudes while chasing votes. We should clearly distinguish which calls and actions are "in favor" of perestroyka and which are against it. One cannot propose to eliminate the administrative-command system and at the same time demand that the methods of management and control inherent in it be resurrected. People frequently do not know what they are doing. They may even have no idea that by some of their

demands they are unwittingly pushing society backward and bring about the resuscitation of the administrative-command system. This happens even when the demands are camouflaged by the slogans of socialism. What kind of socialism? The one we are traveling toward, or the one we are trying to escape?

Price, Wage Reforms Needed for Stability

904A0013A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Komin, Moscow: "The Ruble and the Market—Has the Concept of Economic Renewal Been Well-Conceived?"]

[Text] Recently, so many issues of economic restructuring have been raised that it has become difficult to comprehend what the main point is in overcoming the crisis condition in the economy. Also, 2 years ago the main goal of the economic reform appeared clearer: To shift from command-and-administrative methods of management in the national economy to economic methods and enhance the role of the goods-and-money relations and the market.

The goods-and-money relations include three most important categories: Price, wages, and finance. Over the long years of dominance of administrative management, all of these categories have been mangled to such a degree that switching to new economic methods of management in the national economy is impossible if the existing situation continues. Over the last 20 years, unprofitability and deficits in the national economy have been growing rapidly. Budgetary subsidies alone amount to 30 percent of the total labor remuneration fund in the national economy.

The unprofitable price system inescapably brings about reduced wages. A low level of wages which cannot be compared with remuneration for labor in any capitalist country has to be maintained artificially. Without dwelling on it, let us recall the estimate made by the former U.S. President R. Reagan: In terms of the standard of living, the population of our country lags behind the American population by a factor of 3.

At the Congress of People's Deputies, N. Shmelev compared the share of remunerations for labor in the gross national product in our country and in the United States: In our country, 30 percent, and in the United States, 60 percent. Proceeding from this the conclusion is drawn that it is no problem for us to increase salaries and bring their share in the gross national product to the American level. However, it is not known at the expense of what funds they are to be raised. If someone believes that this can be accomplished by some changes in the distribution of national income he is in grave error.

The low share of wages is due to their deformed levels as a result of subsidized prices and the unprofitability of the housing and communal sphere. Depressing wages artificially and adjusting them to the subsidy-based system of prices is seriously hampering technical progress and savings of human labor. With remunerations for labor being so depressed, introducing new machinery or advanced technology does not pay; it is cheaper to have 5 or 10 more workers.

Deformations in price-setting, wages, and finance are the immediate cause of deficit in the state budget. It is difficult to rid the budget of the deficit and of emission if more than one-fifth of the expenditure side of the budget is spent for subsidies.

We ended up with this system of goods-and-money relations due to failing to take into account the requirements of economic laws for decades in the hope of circumventing them. We need to correct this mistake and bring goods-and-money relations into compliance with the requirements of such laws. This is the main element, concept, and principal objective of economic restructuring at the current stage.

Of course, this is not to belittle the significance of other problems, such as complete economic accountability based on self-financing and self-capitalization, profound reorganization of relations of production, development of ownership forms, regional economic accountability, and others. However, other problems cannot be solved effectively unless the goods-and-money relations are cured and a market is created.

There is much talk about the significance of the market, but little is done in order to set it in motion. In the process, many economists reduce the essence of the market to the boundless independence of enterprises and economic organizations. However, such a market does not exist anywhere in a modern economy. This is not the point, anyway.

We should primarily interpret as the market the normalization of prices, wages, and finance, a balance of demand and supply, saturation with merchandise. This is only possible if an all-union merchandise market is created. This is the kind of market at which any citizen can freely buy in any rayon seat what merchandise he wants, beginning with a nail and through sophisticated household appliances, at which any enterprise may order without difficulties the equipment and raw materials it needs for delivery by a certain deadline.

Only this kind of market may be at issue in the course of introducing genuine economic accountability at enterprises and in organizations.

There is a lot of talk at present about the regional economic accountability of republics, oblasts, and even cities. However, all documents on this issue may largely be considered to be administrative acts. Implementing economic accountability on the basis of them means diving again into the administrative-command system of economic management but at a different level.

The suspicion of one republic with regard to another, of one territory with regard to another region that the

exchange of merchandise stocks does not ensure equivalence, is one of the causes of the emergence of concepts of regional economic accountability. Someone thinks that he is working better than someone else but makes as much money, or manufactures more significant or necessary products the prices for which should be higher. If the issue is raised in this manner the truth will never be found.

Regional economic accountability and a resolution of similar issues may only be secured in the environment of a unified balanced market. Then we will not have to create special voluminous laws, instructions, and statutes on regional economic accountability; a reasonable tax system is all that will be needed. In the process, equivalence in the exchange of goods will come by itself.

It is impossible to use effectively the principle of financial incentives without creating a unified, all-union market saturated with goods (both capital goods and consumer goods). A regular economic balance on the whole in terms of material-tangible and value structures is impossible in the absence of the market. Meanwhile, in the absence of such a balance the difference between state prices, prices at collective farm markets, consumer cooperatives, and cooperatives will grow. This, in turn, will give rise to resale, speculation, and non-labor-derived incomes. Administrative solutions do not rid us of this evil. The problem exists no more only in a balanced market, and prices in various sectors of the economy will then trend to uniformity.

Finally, the stabilization and reinforcement of the exchange rate of the ruble also hinge on the balanced market. Only on such a basis may we proceed toward convertibility.

It is due to the imbalance in the market that centrifugal forces in the economy are increasingly at work. The striving to restrict oneself to the framework of enterprise or regional interests, to ensure at least an "isolated" balance, including the availability of consumer goods, is apparent. The danger of "compartmentalizing" the economy is present, which is in crying contradiction with the economic development of the world. We need forces of economic consolidation. Only the all-union balanced market may be such a force at present.

This market needs to be created in a centralized manner. This primarily applies to restructuring the system of prices, wages, and reinforcement of finances if we do not allow profound economic processes to get out of control. This was envisaged by the decisions of the 27th Congress of the party, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Conducting the restructuring of the system of prices and tariffs, wages, retirement benefits, and other monetary income of the populace, and reinforcing and improving the financial system in an integrated manner is a matter of principle. The main point is not to infringe on the standard of living of the people in the process.

Of course, the market will not solve all of our problems. For example, all by itself it cannot by any means overcome our technological lag. The market is but an elementary requirement of organization in the economy.

What is our situation at present? First we got vigorously involved in a fundamental reform of all prices and tariffs—wholesale, procurement, and retail, but forgot about corresponding measures in the financial sphere and in the field of remuneration for labor, retirement benefits, and other monetary income of the populace. Moreover, putting wages on the whole in order was not even on the agenda despite the problems in that field being no fewer than in prices or finance. In view of the budget deficit we began to urgently work out measures for reinforcing finance. Now we are coming to understand with increasing clarity that all other measures aimed at curing finances will hardly be efficient unless the growth of wages not supported by a corresponding increase in efficiency is stopped.

All of these are emergency measures, and we cannot do without them. However, we cannot build a long-range strategy around them. We should return again to the issues of reforming prices and wages and reinforcing finances on a fundamental basis, and we should consider them quietly. We should envisage a plan of comprehensive measures in stages and carry it out, and not in the manner in which it worked out with prices. We revised wholesale prices and transportation tariffs. However, there is none of the readiness to do so with regard to procurement prices, and the beginning of improvement in retail prices (the foodstuffs are at issue) has been postponed for 2 to 3 years. Under the circumstances, the isolated introduction of only the new wholesale prices deforms the system still more.

"Curing" the goods-and-money relations has long been a problem. However, the need for it has been ignored thus far, and the disease was forced deeper inside. At present, it is much more difficult to cure it. It will be still more difficult if we drag our feet and do not undertake to immediately cure this most important sector.

Of course, creating a balanced market is not going to be easy. A quite lengthy period of time and several stages of streamlining both prices and wages will be required. This will last at least until 1995, and maybe longer—that is, if we immediately embark on this endeavor.

At present, instead of handling the main element, namely, perfecting prices, finances, wages and creating the market, we strive to resolve the easiest issues and repeat the mistakes of past reforms. For 4 years, we have been adjusting the economic mechanism. As it is, it needs to be perfected continuously. Past reforms (1965 and 1979) have shown that in and of itself the new economic mechanism does not fully solve economic problems which have emerged in our country if we do not affect the profound processes, do not take into account economic laws, and do not restructure the economy in keeping with their requirements.

In the 4 years of economic perestroyka, we have replicated the same path. Organizational issues of perfecting the economic mechanism are the focus of attention. This refers to the Law on Enterprises, to complete economic accountability on the basis of self-financing and self-capitalization, to regional economic accountability, and so on. Once again, categories of the superstructure are exaggerated. Once again, financial incentive measures are being inflated in a lop-sided manner while the other side is completely forgotten—economic responsibility for the unconscientious attitude toward labor which is sometimes displayed simply as reluctance to work. Unfortunately, we must state that in the past 1,5 years economic perestroyka has somehow gotten off the track of increasing the efficiency of production and labor productivity and onto the track of consumerism. However, this track leads to exacerbating the critical situation in the economy rather than overcoming it.

The time has come to handle the main neuralgic points of our imbalances and economic disarray. We should put prices, wages, retirement benefits, and other monetary income in order, balance finances, and create the market. Only then will the USSR Laws on State Enterprises and on Cooperatives and economic accountability of enterprises and regions operate to their full extent.

Moscow Labor Collectives Support Price Freeze

904D0009A Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "From the Resolution of the Meeting of Representatives of Moscow Labor Collectives"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We representatives of labor collectives and all branch trade unions of the city in this extremely difficult situation in the life of the country confirm our support of the ideas of restructuring advanced by the party.... We support the declaration of the country's trade unions against the growth of prices, the shortage of goods, the drop in the standard of living, and the distortions in the cooperative movement.

We are in favor of social justice and for refusing to forget the main principle of socialism: "To each according to his work." The workers should not bear all the responsibility for the crisis situation in the country while the shadow economy is flourishing at the same time.

We understand well that restructuring is not a redistribution of goods, of which fewer and fewer remain, but above all the self-sacrificing labor of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia and a strengthening of discipline and organization.

We are demanding that the government accelerate the adoption of decisive measures to bring order into price setting, to freeze prices, and to eliminate the shortages of necessary goods in the near future.

We insist that the USSR Supreme Soviet revise the decree on taxation of state enterprises which has placed many labor collectives in a hopeless situation.

We are appealing to the USSR Supreme Soviet: In the near future it is necessary to adopt a law that creates equal conditions for the activity of state enterprises and cooperatives.

We consider it necessary to conduct a monetary reform which will not affect the interests of the private worker but will eliminate from circulation money that has not been earned.

We are giving an order to the people's deputies to actively protect the interests of the workers. We are demanding that they introduce voting by name on laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We are appealing to the workers and population of our multinational capital and to all Soviet people to whom the cause of socialism is dear to strengthen the unit of all nations; our power lies in socialist internationalism.

Participants in the meeting call for the labor collectives to actively prepare for the forthcoming elections to republic and local soviets of people's deputies. We must now allow the working class and the labor intelligentsia to end up in the minority in the soviets.

We must restore the Leninist principle to the effect that the "primary electoral unit is not the territorial okrug but the economic production unit (plant, factory)."

We support the proposals of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and meetings of workers of Leningrad and Moscow concerning adding to the law on elections to local soviets provisions concerning elections not only for territorial, but also for production okrugs.

Lawyer Favors Private Ownership of Housing

904D0005A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by lawyer A. Move, Moscow: "Giving It Away Is More Advantageous Than Selling"]

[Text] What does a man do who loses his job someplace in the United States or in a Western country? Of course, he looks for another job, and not necessarily in the same city but all over the country or even abroad. Having found a job, this person, as a rule, sells his dwelling or cancels the rental agreement for his apartment, and buys or rents a new dwelling at the location where he has found a job. In other words, he does not live where he has a residence permit and an apartment but, where he works.

The citizens of our state have no such opportunity. Our man is tied by indissoluble bonds to his dwelling—by the ill-fated residence permit and the apartment allocation voucher. This is the case at a time when economic restructuring is in progress, when reductions in the

managerial apparatus and those of jobs which have become "surplus" under economic accountability are already under way, that is, at a time when the problem of migration by job-hunting people is emerging acutely. Therefore, tying a person to his dwelling rigidly turns into a serious barrier to solving our economic problems.

For some reason, we skirt this aspect of the problem. For example, the task has been set to provide a separate apartment for every family by the year 2000. However, where are they to be built, in which cities? The logical answer is: In the cities where labor will be needed. The problem is that at present hardly anyone will have the courage to say in which particular localities. I believe that no planning or other organ is in a position to make such calculations on a national scale.

Actually, in no country of the world is the issue raised in this manner. We are now talking about rejecting administrative and command methods of management in industry, about the need to give the plants to the workers, and the land to the peasants. However, we leave the administrative and command methods of management in our housing sector as untouchable. Meanwhile, I believe that the key to solving the "housing-labor" problem is only in turning housing, for the construction of which the state has already spent and is spending tremendous funds, into merchandise, regular merchandise which is bought and sold.

A certain, albeit very timid, step has been recently taken in this direction: The USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Sales of Apartments in the Houses of State and Public Housing Stock to Citizens as Their Personal Property" and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution regulating the rights of ZhSK [Housing Construction Cooperatives] members have been adopted.

Essentially, these resolutions are not effective. They turned out not to be viable, and they will hardly ever come to life in this format. Indeed, let us imagine a regular house with 50, 100, or 150 apartments in which only 5, 10, or 20 tenants were found who are prepared to buy out their apartments. Are they in a position to do it, and what will such a house, containing a mixture of personal and state property, represent in this event? How is it going to be maintained, how are current and major repairs to be made in it?

All of these issues cannot be solved until such time as the house ceases to be mixed and turns into the personal property of tenants united in an association (cooperative). It is in a position to really "manage" the house, maintain it and keep it in due order. However, how are the rest of the tenants, who do not wish to acquire personally owned apartments, to be induced to buy them from the state?

In an attempt to find a way out of this situation, the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet adopted on 1 June 1989 a resolution which recommends that in the course of sales of apartments in multi-unit houses the executive committees facilitate the sale of all apartments in a house or a section, as well as exchanging apartments to this end. Certainly, it is very lucrative to derive double benefits at the same time by selling apartments to citizens: To recover the costs incurred in building the house and at the same time avoid burdensome costs of its maintenance and operation. However, it is easy to understand that this problem will not be solved by any resolutions or commands from on high. After all, the issue of whether to buy or not to buy an apartment depends on the citizens rather than on the authorities. Where is a way out?

Before I answer this question, I will allow myself a small digression. It is no secret at all that the apartments supposedly rented by the state to the citizens free of charge have been actually paid for by the citizens in the form of various indirect taxes and all kinds of social funds which are formed by deductions from [the incomes of] the very same citizens.

This housing not only fails to return its cost to the state but, on the contrary, inflicts substantial losses on it. After all, additional outlays are required for current and major repairs, for maintaining the staff of ministry employees and personnel of housing administration and numerous PZhRO [Production and Housing Repair Department] and REU [Repair and Operation Administration]. How can we invigorate the resolutions adopted by the government and breathe life into them? I believe that it is necessary to transfer to personal ownership free of charge (or for a purely symbolic fee of R300 to R500) all apartments in the houses of the state and public housing stock rather than sell them. In other words, social justice should be restored, and what rightfully belongs to the toilers should be given to them. This needs to be done without delay, by a single act of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Stretching out the installment sale of apartments over many years means not only hampering the restructuring of our economy, and restricting artificially the migration of labor which is unavoidable in the process of such restructuring, but also inflicting further, additional losses on the state entailed by the operation and maintenance of housing and the preservation of a tremendous managerial apparatus.

This is not all. Let us read attentively the resolution of the government and the already issued numerous instructions and circular letters on applying it: "Decisions on selling apartments to the personal possession of citizens are made taking into account the composition of the family, the labor, and social involvement of citizens.... The sales price for apartments is set by assessment commissions on the basis of their utility features and a comprehensive evaluation of the built-up section depending on the category of the house, design arrangements, number of floors, sanitation and technical infrastructure, amenities and ecological status of the area, and so on."

Everything appears to be correct and fair. However, who is going to handle all of these issues? It is easy to understand that the issue is the creation of yet another additional, cumbersome apparatus consisting of numerous assessment commissions and subcommissions—an apparatus designed for many years of work. This will yet again place a heavy burden on the budget.

The immediate transfer of housing to the possession of citizens will also free the budget from these additional outlays which are unlikely to be offset by proceeds from selling apartments. I believe that the same procedures should be applied to the members of housing construction cooperatives who have paid their share in full. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers seems to have resolved this issue favorably. However, the reservation which it includes (point 6) to the effect that a member of the housing construction cooperative who has paid his share in full does not have a right to fully control his property, that is, cannot will it or sell it to any person, even the one entitled to join the housing construction cooperative, reduces this legal provision to naught. Meanwhile, the members of housing construction cooperatives have essentially paid for their apartments twice: Through the social funds and through the share contributed. There are no reasons for putting them at a disadvantage compared to the citizens residing in the houses of the state and social housing stock.

However, this is not the main point yet. Restructuring the economy requires that the housing market be expanded as much as possible rather than restricted. A substantial increase in the number of apartments which are the personal property of citizens and the inclusion of apartments of the members of housing construction cooperatives in purchasing and sales will bring about a precipitous decline in their cost and will restrict considerably the opportunity of speculation in dwellings.

Naturally, apartments in newly built houses or houses subject to renovation or major repairs should not be transferred. They should be transferred to personal ownership only after they are occupied in keeping with established housing allocation procedures. It seems to me that the only exception in the course of transferring apartments to personal ownership needs to be made for renters which have super-surplus (let us call it so) housing space, or, more precisely, total usable space.

It is no secret that, as a result of all kinds of preferences and privileges, some categories of people have come to possess apartments which have super-surplus floor space when two or three persons live on a floor space of 150 to 200 and even 300 square meters. Of course, these apartments cannot be transferred to the personal ownership of citizens. This would be altogether unfair and would bring about perpetuating rather than eliminating the illegally secured preferences. I believe that an appropriate commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet will come up with a detailed solution to the problem of eliminating the consequences of receiving such preferences and privileges. However, it is already obvious that the new housing law should include a provision on payments for super-surplus floor space at severalfold rates. I have no doubt that this will be a good incentive for exchanging such apartments for more modest ones.

We should consider measures aimed at eliminating substantial super-surpluses of floor space held by a considerable number of persons who have come to have them due to changes in the family status (death of family members, separation of families, and so on). Finally, in the future we should encourage in every way possible the construction of houses by the state and enterprises which could be sold to be owned by citizens or rented short-term or long-term, as well as the expansion of construction of old-age homes, houses for single retirees, and the handicapped.

Obviously, this enumeration of measures aimed at a profound transformation of our housing law is far from exhaustive. I believe that in this instance we need a profound housing reform, a law which should be submitted for an all-people's debate prior to its adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet rather than hasty decisions (without prior discussion). We must realize that at issue is not only saving 15 to 20 billion rubles which the state currently spends to maintain housing, but also the path of economic development.

Agricultural

Veprev Comments on Condition of Agrarian Sector

904B0004A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Arkadiy Filimonovich Veprev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Questions and Foodstuffs, by M. Seslavin: "Restore the Owner—the Village Will Revive"; date and occasion not specified]

[Text] [Seslavin] As never before there was harsh talk at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies about the deep crisis condition in which the agrarian sector of the country finds itself. What do you, Arkadiy Filimonovich, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Questions and Foodstuffs and manager of one of the major progressive farms of the country, see as its causes? What is the way out of the crisis?

[Veprev] I want to emphasize right off that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet at its first session profoundly reflected and discussed the situation that has unfolded in our country and, in particular, the situation in its agroindustrial sphere, which finds itself in the most neglected condition. If urgent measures are not taken right now, then within some 3-5 years even they will not be able to correct the situation.

How is this neglect expressed? Any truth, as is known, will be recognized in comparisons. If we look into the agriculture of any country of the world, we find that none has the kind of depression we have. Whether agriculture is developing well or poorly is determined mostly by how efficiently its main means of production, the land, is utilized. Perhaps there is not one developed country in the world which in the last one and a half decades has not practically doubled or tripled, for example, grain crop yields. Only we have come to a stop, as if rooted to the ground. In the last 10 years, we "intensified" the grain yield by only 18 kg per year. But, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany in that time increased the grain harvest per hectare by more than 30 quintals. The United States doubled its harvest. The rates of development of agriculture in such socialist countries of Europe as Hungary, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Romania were significantly faster than ours.

Agriculture in our country in many rayons does not even have adequate human resources and the conditions that are necessary for living and work. If we read our press and listen to the speeches of our leaders about agriculture, then they, as a rule, concern the best farms of the country. But this is a drop in a sea of backward kolkhozes [collective farm] and sovkhozes [state farm].

Let us take Krasnoyarskiy Kray as an example. There are about 400 kolkhozes and sovkhozes there. How many of them live more or less vigorously. All told, 10! The rest are at death's door. It is the same picture everywhere. I sense this very well now, as I meet and talk every day with managers and representatives of other krays and oblasts.

What can this lead to? To the fact that the last kolkhoznik [kolkhoz worker] and the last peasant will abandon agriculture. Then agriculture will have to be conducted by assault methods as is now being done in some of the oblasts of the nonchernozem zone.

If we talk about the causes of such lagging behind, there are many. First and foremost, it is the poor conditions of life in the village that have not changed for decades and a situation in which the people who work on the land have been deprived of their civil rights. The peasants live much worse than city dwellers.

[Seslavin] What should be done? What is the first thing that has to be done? Can we take the traditional way of creating everyday conveniences?

[Veprev] I will say frankly that I do not think that this is possible in the foreseeable future. But, judge for yourself. How can you build a boiler room and provide heat and hot water in a settlement where 50-70 people live? Where do you get the pipes and other equipment? And who will operate them, and who will look after the service lines? For all practical purposes, it will be necessary to bring in specialists. Knowing with what and how industry supplies us, I make bold to assert: This will take no less than 50 or so years. But the people cannot wait, and they do not want to wait.

When we talk about the social sphere in the village, what do we have in mind? Is there a club in the village? Is it a good one or a poor one? If it was built for a lot of money, then we think that we have really given the people something.... But who goes to this club? It is empty.

A settlement, whether it is large or small, should have what is necessary for a normal life—an elementary school, a first aid and obstetric station, and at least a small store. Of course, it absolutely must be joined to the farm center which can be reached at any time by road. But all of this does not now exist in a majority of the villages.

It is also not pleasant to speak in our country about something else. But I will say it, nonetheless—I am boiling over with anger: For some reason we think that a rural resident is, so to speak, a second class person. You do not have to sell him a car; a motorcycle will do. But there is no motorcycle either. I think that if we are seriously thinking about the social development of the village, then passenger cars have to be sent first, to the village. Otherwise, how can its residents get to the rayon hospital, or at least to the farm center, if regular bus lines do not go there?

We frequently say, and this is asserted even by some of the rural managers, that the village is now rich with money. But everyone knows well that the average wage is substantially lower there than in the city. There is practically no state trade in the village. It is not possible to buy anything there at state prices—selling is only by cooperatives. Rural residents pay out R800 million annually in so-called drayage taxes. Naturally, the life of a peasant is much more difficult and expensive than that of a city dweller.

You frequently ask yourself the question, how could it happen that all of us, who in the final analysis trace our origins to the plowman, began to despise this profession? Look, the peasant is often almost shunned in a large city or in a rayon town. Why? Because, you see, he walks differently, and he is not dressed in style, and it seems his odor is not the same. I understand that the city-dweller needs warm and hot water, a bath, a shower, and various other comforts. But the peasant needs them even more, because he comes from the farm every day, from the field, from dusty and muddy work....

Therefore, the main task now, in addition to being the most urgent, is to establish a mode of life in the village at least on the level of a small city. It is necessary to bring electric power there on a wide scale and to levy payments for it according to its cost or a kopeck per kilowatt-hour at a maximum. The village is not simply asking—it is demanding that its conditions of life and labor be comparable to that of the city.

One more reason for the decline is the indifference of the person himself who works on the land to his own affairs, and his transformation into a worker who is paid by the day.

[Seslavin] How is this indifference to be overcome, and with it, work paid by the day?

[Veprev] I have often thought: Where did all of this come from? My mature years began in the 1940's. I was an ardent reader of all our newspapers. I must tell you that we were continuously changing a lot in a "radical way," and we commanded the village as we wished. We changed and commanded to the point that we lost the owner on the land. Although the peasant here, there, and everywhere was called the owner, to this day nothing belongs to him—everything was taken away from him, and he was made into a submissive executor. If one approaches this question seriously, then what kind of a structure did we create in agriculture? It seems to me, and not only to me, that we created something in the nature of feudalism, although we called it socialism, saying it was real, developed, and mature; and moreover we created it in the worst manner. We asserted that there was no exploitation of man by man in our country. But what did we do with the kolkhoz worker and the sovkhoz worker? Was he really paid fairly for his labor in our country? Of course not! The main thing now is that a person—and not only in agriculture—becomes an owner; that is, acquires the right to own and dispose of. I emphasize, to own the means of production and to use the results of his own labor! That is the point!

But, then, others will say that here is still one more supporter for the revival of the owner-private craftsman. I will clarify my position. In agriculture, we are supposed to follow the line of a mixed economy, to develop all forms of economic management, all forms of property—private (of course, there is no need to be afraid of this word), and collective, and other forms. In all cases, a person should be the owner. We will restore the owner—the village will revive. Does this mean that we must quickly divide the land? It absolutely does not mean this. Show me the people standing in line to get land! Where is the line? I think that the prospects are not with those who want to distribute the land as private property immediately, as is proposed by some economists and journalists. We can and must find the owner in the structural unification of the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz.

I will cite the experience of the "Nazarovskiy" sovkhoz, which I have headed for three decades now. I will not praise it, but I will say that during the course of the last 15 years the profit of our production exceeds 150 percent. Putting it another way, for each ruble of expenditures, we produce 2.5 rubles worth of products.

In availability of equipment and power capability, the farm is by no means outstanding. Its supply of basic equipment is one and a half to two times lower than even farms of an average region.

[Seslavin] What is the problem?

[Veprev] I will turn the discussion to that—to the owner. You can have him not only in a household and in an individual peasant farm, but also in a kolkhoz or sovkhoz. In "Nazarovskiy," we have been successfully developing and firmly establishing the right of the owner since 1960. What are we doing for this? For 20 years now, people receive 40 percent of their wage only according to end results. All equipment—motor vehicles, tractors, seeding machines, and coupled or mounted machines—everything is assigned to machine operators. Nobody has the right to take them away from them. Nobody! And they repair them in the winter themselves. Understandably, it is left to their consciences because it is for themselves. Is a controller needed here?

The owner is also evident in the fact that the machine operator will not begin to sow if the soil is not ready, or if the fertilizer has not been delivered. You can drive around all of the sovkhoz fields, but you will not find one row where the seeds would be sown without fertilizer.

One's teeth are set on edge by theft. They are carrying everything away. Imagine, this does not exist in "Nazarovskiy," where more than R25 million in gross product is produced. Starting in 1970, all watchmen were removed. To a man! Each person is a controller. The people will not steal from each other! Everything that a family or a person needs can be bought in the sovkhoz, and at a low price. But the main thing is that we are trying to see to it that people have everything and that they receive the necessary products in their household, and we are helping them in every way possible.

I will not conceal the fact that we got a lot of criticism for reintroducing the owner. We were accused of developing a "kulak frame of mind." But life showed: This approach is the only correct way.

The proprietary approach also comes up in the management of production and in social matters. At our place they will not select "just anyone" for a managerial post, even a very small one, and they will not let anyone work according to the principle of "just putting in time." A strict requirement is placed, even by the workers themselves, on each and everyone. We will continue to strengthen the right of the owner in the structure of the sovkhoz. If it is possible to expend the resources that the sovkhoz has, and there are always R10-12 million of free assets on its books, then we will "sell" the sovkhoz for stock to our workers. This will then be a joint stock company sovkhoz. As world practice shows, production efficiency from a shift to a joint stock form of work increases by a minimum of 15 percent. It is possible that a sovkhoz can be completely purchased by the workers, each of whom will become its co-owner and boss in an enterprise that really does belong to the people. [Seslavin] What kinds of measures is the USSR Supreme Soviet working on in order to change the state of affairs in the agrarian sector of the country decisively for the better? Arkadiy Filimonovich, could you, at least briefly, talk about the package of proposals that you intend to submit for review by the agrarian deputies at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet? [Veprev] The second session of the Supreme Soviet must play a special role in the destiny of our villages. We believe that if we

do not decide the question of recognizing the unquestionable priority of agriculture in a practical plan at a high level today, then we will also lose next year. Once more there will be only a rending of the air with speeches, and there will be no movement out of the situation in which we find ourselves. Therefore, the Committee on Agrarian Questions and Foodstuffs is studying the state of affairs in our agriculture in detail. Resources, derelictions, and shortages are visible to the naked eye. How many products are lost simply because fuel was not delivered on time! Don't the resource managers really understand that agriculture is a special branch, that everything is done here according to strict timing—no sooner and no later? If you are too early or too late, you will damage or lose the harvest completely. And we are losing many millions of tons. In particular because of a chronic shortage of fuel and lubricants, transport means, and the spare parts for them. Can you really call such planning state or economic management? But you inquire into the draft budget of the country for next year and you see that despite the fire storm of criticism, absurdity is preserved. The allocation of fuel will be 20-30 percent less than requested. As if fuel were moonshine, which it is dangerous to let a muzhik get near. This means that there will be losses again, and, what is more, planned and intentional ones. It is the very same picture with the supply of equipment and building materials for villages. Hence, the sharp debates and the angry voice of the agrarian deputies in defense of the priority of the agrarian sector. So that our agriculture will stand on its feet firmly and feed the country reliably, it is necessary to develop all forms of property and all forms of organization of labor on the land—kolkhozes and sovkhozes, leased farms, and private farmsteads. But under one indispensable condition—to guarantee the peasant everywhere the right to be an owner. However, this is now already a commonplace and popular phrase. The question concerns the legal and legislative mechanism for this task. A large package of draft laws, which is being reviewed at the current session, was prepared for the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions. These are drafts of laws on property, on land and land utilization, on leases and leasing relationships, on a single tax system, on socialist enterprises, on local self-government, and others. We must adopt all of these laws in the first instance. I am confident that if we adopt them, the situation will change for the better, and that the number of those who want to work independently, without urging and commands, will increase.

I will not comment on all of these laws. A lot has been said about their importance and the necessity to give them the green light without delay. I will speak only about the draft Law on Land and Land Utilization which is now being discussed heatedly. Several alternative versions have been submitted for review. All of the authors agree on one thing—land has to be protected! There is not really one country in the world that treats land as barbarously as in our country. Especially the industrial and timber enterprises. Look at what is happening, for example, in strip mining coal! Thousands of hectares of land that could give and at one time did give what was necessary for life are so mutilated that not only can they not be seeded, but that it is not even possible even to traverse them.

It is astonishing with what ease other departments encroach on usable and arable land and then turn their backs on restoring them. I have just received a letter from V.N. Popov, a resident of the Kezhemskiy Rayon of Krasnoyarskiy Kray. "You know," he writes, "that the Boguchanskaya GES [hydroelectric station] is being built. There is talk about the start of the first units. But what is being done about the land that has been lost? All told, about 28,600 hectares of arable land will be flooded. Sixteen thousand hectares of new land area were found. But they have to be restored and cultivated. What happened? In the last 8 years 400 hectares have been restored.... Tears! Even if we double and triple the tempo, there is not enough lifetime left to put these areas into crop rotation. Of course, new sovkhozes are not being built, just settlements. The Ministry of Power and Electrification is not giving the money. But if we do not restore the area under crops and we do not build housing, then we will lose more than a thousand peasant families, and the rayon will actually end up without arable land...." Such vociferous reports come from the most diverse regions of the country. In the last 15 years, 26 million hectares of land were reclaimed, on which more than R50 million rubles was spent. During that time more than 22 million hectares of arable land were taken out of operation. Allow me to ask who needs such work? Indeed, the land has to be protected, and in the most resolute way! The new Law on Land and Land Use is based on the principles of the priority of agriculture and the ability to pay for its use. We intend to carry through the payment for up to actual cost for land withdrawn from crop rotation. By the way, a hectare of land is sold abroad for a million rubles, converted to our prices. There is nothing shameful in our learning something from this kind of an approach. Then the industrialists and the extractors of all kinds of minerals will seriously think about how much to take from a hectare and how much this will affect the account books. We will also establish a new procedure for lumberjacks who only cut forests down. If you saw down a stand of trees—restore it. Only then will you get a new cutting area.

Now we moan: There are not enough food products, and they are exorbitantly expensive. But I will say frankly: The shortage of a number of products, in particular vegetables and fruit, is an unnatural phenomenon. It is caused by the fact that the producer is deprived of the right to dispose of them, and he is not interested in selling them—he is stifled by the monopoly of state trade, which is really renowned for its obstinacy and boorishness. If we will be able to revive the marketplace, and if the present day diktat of state trade will be eliminated, then products will appear, and in a greater assortment than now and of a better quality. Acceptable prices will set in. For the market does not mean more expensive; on the contrary! The more supply there is, the lower prices will be. Besides, rather substantially

[Seslavin] It is of interest how the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Questions and Foodstuffs sets up its own development of laws. Whom do they rely on, and what kinds of specialists are brought in to study problems?

[Veprev] The committee which I was entrusted to head has 44 people's deputies. It has eight subcommittees—land use and forms of economic management, price formation and budget; agricultural machinebuilding; investments and material technical supplies; control over the implementation of governmental decrees, social development of the village and protection of the peasant; foreign economic ties and export-import policy; ecology and regional policy; and processing and sale of agricultural products.

Prominent organizers of agricultural production are among the USSR people's deputies who are on committee staffs, such as A.P. Aydak, V.A. Starodubtsev, V.I. Shtepo, N.Ya. Lemesheva, famous agrarian scientists A.A. Nikonov, A.M. Yemelyanov, E.Ya. Grinovskis, and writer B.I. Belov. All are persons who are prestigious and respected in the country. The range of our interests and concerns is by no means restricted to the list of problems denoted in the names of the subcommittees. We consider ourselves responsible for everything. First and foremost, of course, for the village as a whole, and for its quick development.

We have a lot of work these days. The center of gravity of the creative legislative activity of the Supreme Soviet shifts to its committees and commissions. Now they work 3 days a week—Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

The highest governmental establishments are drawn into work on problems under consideration—the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and, of course, any ministry and department that is needed, any institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and any scientist and prestigious specialist from any spot in our country. The laws that we are developing must be thoroughly weighed and lasting.

[Seslavin] The last question: What assistance does our press, in particular SELSKAYA ZHIZN, provide, or could provide, to the USSR Supreme Soviet in resolving our agrarian problems?

[Veprev] I will say frankly that we are dissatisfied with how the press, including SELSKAYA ZHIZN as well, elucidates the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees, and its subcommittees. The paper, it seems to me, could become the assembly bell which would continuously join us with the village. The question of its development, its future, the restoration of the owner in it, and the measures that the higher legislative organs undertake in this plan, must be addressed more sharply and openly. Briefly, we have to raise and resolve questions on principle and do so boldly, as life raises them today, and as the voters demand.

Military

Akhromeyev Examines Military Spending in 1990

90UM0026A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Report on interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR people's deputy and adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by an unidentified TASS correspondent: "Soviet Military Expenditures in 1990"; date and occasion not specified]

[Text] Committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and commissions of its chambers continue to discuss documents submitted for review by the second session of parliament, including the draft state plan and budget of the country for 1990. Deputies are also reviewing proposals on USSR military expenditures for the coming year for the first time. What is the opinion of the professional military concerning this part of the budget? A TASS correspondent addressed this question to Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, a USSR people's deputy and adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Akhromeyev] A reduction in Soviet military expenditures by R6.4 billion in 1990 is possible and necessary. This step is in keeping with the policy of peace being conducted by the USSR, the relaxation of military tension, and an increase in the role of the defense industry in the output of consumer goods.

It will be recalled that the draft budget of the country for the coming year, which was submitted by the Soviet Government for review by parliament, envisages a drop in military expenditures from R77.8 billion in 1989 to R70.9 billion in 1990. I think that this figure will also have to be resisted. Apparently, proposals may be advanced in committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet for a large reduction in defense expenditures.

For my part, I think that the military expenditures proposed by the government for 1990 are well-thought out. They were coordinated with the USSR Ministry of Defense and the defense branches of industry. Moreover, these proposals also take into account a reduction in Soviet armed forces of 500,000 persons. A decrease in military expenditures will help resolve difficulties that arise in the production of consumer goods. At the same time, this budget will satisfy the minimal requirements of the armed forces. There are many shortcomings and problems in the armed forces, but one has to consider that there are even more difficulties in the national economy.

With the general reduction in defense expenditures, there is also a decrease in appropriations for scientific research and experimental design work in the military sphere. Life compels the conduct of such reduction. But, frankly speaking, we would not want to do this, especially when you consider that those who call us their

probable enemy are conducting such work on a broad front. The USSR Supreme Soviet has to have the final word here as well.

[TASS] What is your opinion about the conversion of Soviet military industry?

[Akhromeyev] A detailed plan is now being worked on which will be submitted to the Soviet parliament at the end of this year. Speaking in general terms, this document provides for a significant reduction in military equipment and weapons up to the year 1995.

While in 1988 civilian production amounted to 40 percent in the general category of military industry, in 1995 the figure should grow to 60 percent. Already in the coming year the output of consumer goods in this sphere of the Soviet economy will increase by R10.1 billion. It is planned to increase significantly the production of medical equipment, and equipment for light industry, the agroindustrial complex, and trade. In the near future, Soviet aviation will receive the new IL-96-300, TU-204, and the IL-114 aircraft.

I would like to emphasize that the defense branches have always produced a substantial amount of consumer goods. Now it is a question of a significant increase in the contribution of this sphere of the Soviet economy to the resolution of very important tasks.

[TASS] The question has come up more than once recently about a professional army in the USSR. What is your opinion on this question?

[Akhromeyev] There are two reasons why there cannot be a professional army in the Soviet Union. First, under conditions of a continuous military danger for the Soviet Union, the existence of an army, based on universal military service, is warranted. Only such an army makes it possible to have trained mobilization resources for use in the event there is a sharp worsening in the situation. Second, a professional army requires much more material resources and financial means, which it is impossible to get in today's economic situation.

I admit that the idea of a professional army can sound very attractive to many, but it is unrealistic to talk about it now.

Aircraft Carrier 'Tbilisi' Activities Reported

Journalist Visits Shipyard

PM1910144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondent V. Chebakov article under the rubric "Top Secret": "Flagship. Report On the Construction of the 'Tbilisi,' the Latest Soviet Aircraft Carrier"—the article is accompanied by a photograph of an aircraft carrier and the caption "The launch of the aircraft carrier 'Tbilisi' was followed by that of the 'junior twin,' the aircraft carrier 'Riga'"]

[Text] Nikolayev-Moscow—It was my first time at the helm of an aircraft carrier. I placed my hands on the cold gray plastic wheel—slightly smaller in diameter than a "Zhiguli" steering wheel—and thought that tens of thousands of tonnes of metal, armaments, and electronics obedient to the commands of the duty helmsman can rush across the waves at a speed of around 30 knots. The helm was so small....

I have long known about this aircraft carrier. In 1988 the UK journal JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY wrote: "The new Soviet aircraft carrier is giving rise to lots of rumors in the United States. The U.S. Defense Department document 'Soviet Military Power' (1988 issue) carried a picture of the Nikolayev shipyard taken from the French SPOT satellite system. The picture showed the last of the 'Kiev' class light aircraft carriers [avianosnyy kreyser]—called the 'Baku'—and a new aircraft carrier. Sea trials of the new carrier, which was launched in December 1985 and is currently being fitted out, will probably start in 1989."

Specialists go on to list its displacement and armaments, and try to guess whether it would be a U.S. carrier-type cruiser for conventional aircraft, or, like the "Baku," a large platform for vertical take-off and landing aircraft. I didn't know either....

Yu. Makarov, director of the Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant, took me to the docks straight from the airport. The shift had already ended. The gray bulk of the carrier loomed up in the setting sun.

"So what do you think?" he asked. "You're the first journalist to visit this project, you know. Impressed?"

What could I say? The shape and size of the ship was indeed impressive....

Hero of Socialist Labor Ivan Osipovich Vinnik, USSR State Prize winner, has worked at the plant for 38 years. Short and thin, in overalls and a helmet, he does not seem at first sight like the leader of tens of thousands of people—the collective of shipbuilders working on the carrier. Jumping ahead a bit, I should say that he is in a class of his own as a shipbuilder.

Early in the morning we descended into the belly of the carrier from the stern and immediately found ourselves in the cramped corridors that are usual on a warship.

"There are around 16 km of these corridors," Ivan Osipovich said. "There are 27 decks in the ship and more than 3,000 compartments—basically, it's a lot of walking. Imagine how much work the thousands of my comrades have put into it. We needed specialists from 800 professions in order to build it. Equipment and materials from seven thousand plants and factories run by all the country's ministries is being delivered here."

We passed a bulkhead and entered the aircraft and helicopter hangar. It was filled by gentle daylight. This area reminded me of the covered soccer training ground at Moscow's "Dinamo" Stadium, except that the ceiling

was lower and instead of walls of glass there was armor plating. Suddenly a 20-meter section of deck moved up. This is the elevator. The "Tbilisi" has two of them. Aircraft or helicopters are rolled onto them, and the elevators lift the machines to deck level. Around 60 aircraft can be housed in the hangar.

Then there were cramped corridors again and ladders, ladders, ladders.... Ivan Osipovich can find his way through these labyrinths as if he's in his own apartment. During my visit on the ship I saw the main reactor [kotel], the control room [energeticheskiy post], and the engine room. Everything has already been prepared for starting up the 200,000-horsepower engines.

In the middle of the naval officers' wardroom (there is a pilots' mess too), which resembles a cruise ship restaurant, stands a black grand piano. I looked quizzically at Vinnik.

"It's a tradition," he answered softly. "It's said you can still come across naval officers who can play the piano."

I visited the crew's quarters, the TV studio, the hospital and clinic, the galleys—where the saucepans for "Navy-style spaghetti" are already gleaming—the flight and weapons control centers.... Ivan Osipovich even showed me the 15-tonne anchor and the 350-meter anchor chains. Each link of the chain is made out of special-strength steel bars 82 mm in diameter. Vinnik pointed out dozens of large and small electronic devices and told me what they did.

The vessel's deck is impressive, as is everything else. It is around 300 meters long and more than 70 meters wide. The bow is a kind of ski jump to assist fighter take-offs—unlike U.S. carriers, on which take-off is catapult-assisted. Which is better? Time will tell. Nearer the stern is the arrester gear—thick hawsers which help to brake a landing aircraft.

...Plant Director Makarov is outwardly the complete opposite of Vinnik. He is powerfully built and taller. Admittedly, they do have similar backgrounds—both worked their way up from foremen and section chiefs to plant leaders.

"Do you see the roof of the old shop?" the director asked. "That was where the battleship 'Potemkin' was built. The 'Tbilisi' is nearer to us. Behind it people are working on large trawlers. They're good ships. Incidentally, they bring the plant more money than military orders. After all, factory ships are continually delivered—10 a year. The workers' labor productivity is better than at Japanese yards...."

The Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant is part of our state's history. Aircraft-carrying ships are currently built only here and at Newport News in the United States. At Nikolayev the plant has built entire residential areas along with schools, kindergartens, sanatoriums, and leisure facilities.

In the director's office Makarov and Vinnik flicked through the British "Jane's" handbook on Soviet armaments.

"That's one of ours. Remember, Yuriy Ivanovich?" Vinnik pointed to pictures of Soviet warships. "And that one, and that one."

There were dozens of them. How many have passed through the hands and hearts of the shipbuilders?

Do we need such expensive ships? The answer to that is clear: As long as new bombers take off from U.S. airfields, as long as new aircraft carriers and ASW cruisers are built, and as long as NATO missiles are targeted on our country it is too soon to switch over to building just snow-white liners.

Black Sea Testing

PM1210134489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Radio Interception": "What the VOA Does Not Know"]

[Text] The Voice of America has reported the testing in the Black Sea of the new Soviet heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser "Tbilisi."

We were informed by the Navy that running trials of the ship are now in progress. Not a single aircraft has yet taken off from the cruiser's deck, still less has one landed. This is something that is in many respects new to our naval airmen, and it will take time to master it.

The naval airmen are now completing work with the "takeoff and landing" systems and equipment in the conditions of airfields on land. At the end of the month work actually on the ship's deck, at sea, will begin. Test pilots will be the first to tackle this, and only after that the cruiser's flight personnel. It was noted that the flight training method closely resembles that used in the naval aviation of the United States, Britain, and other countries.